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THE WORKS
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HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

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OF

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

VOLUME IX.

HISTORY OF MEXICO.

VOL. I. 1516-1521.

SAN FRANCISCO:
THE HISTORY COMPANY, PUBLISHERS.
1886.

PUBLIC
MAY 16 '49

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PREFACE.

As the third greatest of the world's republics, wherein society and civilization are displayed under somewhat abnormal aspects, under aspects at least widely different from those present in other than Spanish-speaking communities, configurations and climates, races and race intermixtures, civil and religious polities, and the whole range of mental and physical environment being in so many respects exceptional and individual, Mexico presents a study one of the most interesting and profitable of any among the nations of to-day.

A brilliant though unjust and merciless conquest was followed by the enforcement of Spain's institutions upon the survivors, who were themselves so far advanced in arts, industries, and intellectual culture as to render such metamorphosis most disastrous. After the awful success of Cortés, Spain neither exterminated the natives, like the United States, nor left them in their aboriginal independence, like the furmagnates of British America. Aiming at the utmost kindness, the Spanish government fastened on body and soul the iron fetters of tyranny and superstition; aiming at liberty and humanity, slavery and wrong were permitted. With grants of land, grants of men

and women were made. The church fought valiantly against the evils of the encomienda system, and against the cruelty and injustice imposed by the colonists upon the natives. There was here little of that wholesome indifference to the welfare of her colonies later manifested by England with regard to her settlements in America. Spain's American possessions belonged not to the Spanish people but to the Spanish sovereign; the lands and the people were the king's, to be held or disposed of as he should direct. Hence among the people were encouraged dividing castes; commerce was placed under the severest restrictions, and in many ways it became clear that provinces were held and governed almost exclusively for the benefit of the crown. And so they remained, Europeans and Americans intermingling their loves and hates for three hundred years, which was indeed Mexico's dark age, two civilizations being well nigh crushed therein. Light at last breaking in upon the people, the three centuries of viceregal rule were brought to a close by their taking a stand for independence, such as their Anglo-American neighbor had so recently achieved. And now during these latter days of swift progression Mexico is happily aroused from her lethargy, and is taking her proper place among the enlightened nations of the earth, to the heart-felt joy of all.

The first of the five great periods of Mexican history, embracing the aboriginal annals of Anáhuac, has been exhaustively treated in the fifth volume of my *Native Races.* The second is that of the conquest by Cortés; the third covers nearly three centuries of viceregal rule in New Spain; the fourth comprises the struggle for independence and the founding of the republic;

and the fifth extends thence to the present tim
including as salient features a series of internal revo
lutions, the war with the United States, the imperial
experiment of Maximilian, and the peaceful develop-
ment of national industries and power in recent years.
It is my purpose to present on a national scale, and
in a space symmetrically proportioned to the impor-
tance of each, the record of the four successive periods.

The conquest of Mexico, filling the present and
part of another volume, has been treated by many
writers, and in a masterly manner. In the three
periods of Mexican history following the conquest
there is no comprehensive work extant in Eng-
lish; nor is there any such work in Spanish that
if translated would prove entirely satisfactory to
English readers. Of the few Spanish and Mexican
writers whose researches have extended over the
whole field, or large portions of it, none have been
conspicuously successful in freeing themselves from
the quicksands of race prejudice, of religious feeling,
of patriotic impulse, of political partisanship; none
have had a satisfactory command of existing author-
ities; none in the matter of space have made a sym-
metrical division of the periods, or have appreciated
the relative importance of different topics as they
appear to any but Spanish eyes. Yet there has been
no lack among these writers of careful investigation
or brilliant diction. Indeed there is hardly an epoch
that has not been ably treated from various partisan
standpoints.

The list of authorities prefixed to this volume
shows approximately my resources for writing a
History of Mexico. I may add that no part of my

collection is more satisfactorily complete than that pertaining to Mexico. I have all the standard histories and printed chronicles of the earliest times, together with all the works of writers who have extended their investigations to the events and developments of later years. On the shelves of my Library are found the various *Colecciones de Documentos*, filled with precious historical papers from the Spanish and Mexican archives, all that were consulted in manuscript by Robertson, Prescott, and other able writers, with thousands equally important that were unknown to them. My store of manuscript material is rich both in originals and copies, including the treasures secured during a long experience by such collectors as José María Andrade and José Fernando Ramirez; a copy of the famous *Archivo General de Mexico*, in thirty-two volumes; the autograph originals of Cárlos María Bustamante's historical writings, in about fifty volumes, containing much not found in his printed works; the original records of the earliest Mexican councils of the church, with many ecclesiastical and missionary chronicles not extant in print; and finally a large amount of copied material on special topics drawn from different archives expressly for my work.

Documents printed by the Mexican government, including the regular *memorias* and other reports of different departments and officials, constitute a most valuable source of information. Partisan writings and political pamphlets are a noticeable feature of Mexican historical literature, indispensable to the historian who would study both sides of every question. Prominent Mexicans have formed collections of such works, a dozen of which I have united in one, making two hundred and eighteen volumes of *Papeles Varios*,

some five thousand pamphlets, besides nearly as many more collected by my own efforts. The newspapers of a country cannot be disregarded, and my collection is not deficient in this class of data, being particularly rich in official periodicals.

The conquest of Mexico, which begins this history, has the peculiar attractions of forming the grandest episode in early American annals from a military point of view, and in opening to the world the richest, most populous, and most civilized country on the northern continent, and of gradually incorporating it in the sisterhood of nations as the foremost representative of Latin-American states. On the other hand, an episode which presents but a continuation of the bloody path which marked the advance of the conquerors in America, and which involved the destruction not only of thousands of unoffending peoples but of a most fair and hopeful culture, is not in its results the most pleasing of pictures. But neither in this pit of Acheron nor in that garden of Hesperides may we expect to discover the full significance of omnipotent intention. From the perpetual snow-cap springs the imperceptibly moving glacier. A grain of sand gives no conception of the earth, nor a drop of water of the sea, nor the soft breathing of an infant of a hurricane; yet worlds are made of atoms, and seas of drops of water, and storms of angry air-breaths. Though modern Mexico can boast a century more of history than the northern nations of America, as compared with the illimitable future her past is but a point of time.

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IN

THE HISTORY OF MEXICO.

[It is my custom to prefix to each work of the series the name of every authority cited in its pages. In this instance, however, it is impracticable. So immense is my material for the HISTORY OF MEXICO *that a full list of the authorities would fill a third of a volume, obviously more space than can properly be allowed even for so important a feature. I therefore reduce the list by omitting, for the most part, three large classes: first, those already given for* CENTRAL AMERICA; *second, those to be given in the* NORTH MEXICAN STATES; *and third, many works, mostly pamphlets, which, though consulted and often important, have only an indirect bearing on history, or which have been cited perhaps but once, and on some special topic. These, and all bibliographic notes, are accessible through the index.]*

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GULF OF
MEXICO
Tuxpan
Nautla
Jalapa
Tlaxpantzinco
Villa Rica
Quiahuiztlan
Gempoala
Rio de la Antigua
San Juan de Ulua
Isla de los Sacrificios
Rio Chachalacas
Xicochimalco
Nombre de Dios
Xicalanco
Tampaniquita
Rio Jamapa
Huatusco
Rio de Tuxtlan
Cuetlachtlan
Mictlan-Quauhtla
CUETLACHTLAN
Sierra de San Martin
Rio Goazacoalco
Goazacoalco
GOAZACOALCO
Rio Papaloapan or Alvarado
Tocitepec
ZAPOTECAPAN
TEHUANTEPEC

HISTORY OF MEXICO.

CHAPTER I.

VOYAGE OF HERNANDEZ DE CÓRDOBA TO YUCATAN.

1516–1517.

A Glance at the State of European Discovery and Government in America at the Opening of this Volume—Diego Velazquez in Cuba—Character of the Man—A Band of Adventurers Arrives from Darien—The Governor Counsels them to Embark in Slave-Catching—Under Hernandez de Córdoba they Sail Westward and Discover Yucatan—And are Filled with Astonishment at the Large Towns and Stone Towers they See there—They Fight the Natives at Cape Catoche—Skirt the Peninsula to Champoton—Sanguinary Battle—Return to Cuba—Death of Córdoba.

During the first quarter of a century after the landing of Columbus on San Salvador, three thousand leagues of mainland coast were examined, chiefly in the hope of finding a passage through to the India of Marco Polo. The Cabots from England and the Cortereals from Portugal made voyages to Newfoundland and down the east coast of North America; Amerigo Vespucci sailed hither and thither in the service of Spain, and wrote letters confounding knowledge; Vasco da Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope; Columbus, Ojeda, Niño, Guerra, Bastidas, and Pinzon and Solis coasted the Tierra Firme of Central and South America; Ocampo skirted Cuba and found it an island; Cabral accidentally discovered Brazil; Juan Ponce de Leon hunted for the Fountain of Youth in Florida; Vasco Nuñez de

Balboa crossed the Isthmus and floated his ships on the South Sea. Prior to 1517 almost every province of the eastern continental seaboard, from Labrador to Patagonia, had been uncovered, save those of the Mexican Gulf, which casketed wonders greater than them all. This little niche alone remained wrapped in aboriginal obscurity, although less than forty leagues of strait separated the proximate points of Cuba and Yucatan.

Meanwhile, in the government of these Western Indies, Columbus, first admiral of the Ocean Sea, had been succeeded by Bobadilla, Ovando, and the son and heir of the discoverer, Diego Colon, each managing, wherein it was possible, worse than his predecessor; so that it was found necessary to establish at Santo Domingo, the capital city of the Indies, a sovereign tribunal, to which appeals might be made from any viceroy, governor, or other representative of royalty, and which should eventually, as a royal audiencia, exercise for a time executive as well as judicial supremacy. But before clothing this tribunal with full administrative powers, Cardinal Jimenez, then dominant in New World affairs, had determined to try upon the turbulent colonists the effect of ecclesiastical influence in secular matters, and had sent over three friars of the order of St Jerome, Luis de Figueroa, Alonso de Santo Domingo, and Bernardo de Manzanedo, to whose direction governors and all others were made subject. Just before the period in our history at which this volume opens, the Jeronimite Fathers, as the three friars were called, had practically superseded Diego Colon at Española, and were supervising Pedrarias Dávila of Castilla del Oro, Francisco de Garay governor of Jamaica, and Diego Velazquez governor of Cuba. It will be remembered that Diego Colon had sent Juan de Esquivel in 1509 to Jamaica, where he was succeeded by Francisco de Garay; and Diego Velazquez had been sent in 1511 to Cuba to subdue and

govern that isle, subject to the young admiral's dictation; and beside these, a small establishment at Puerto Rico, and Pedrarias on the Isthmus, there was no European ruler in the regions, islands or firm land, between the two main continents of America.

The administration of the *religiosos* showed little improvement on the governments of their predecessors, who, while professing less honesty and piety, practised more worldly wisdom; hence within two short years the friars were recalled by Fonseca, who, on the death of Jimenez, had again come into power in Spain, and the administration of affairs in the Indies remained wholly with the audiencia of Santo Domingo, the heirs of Columbus continuing to agitate their claim throughout the century.

It was as the lieutenant of Diego Colon that Velazquez had been sent to conquer Cuba; but that easy work accomplished, he repudiated his former master, and reported directly to the crown.

Velazquez was an hidalgo, native of Cuéllar, who, after seventeen years of service in the wars of Spain, had come over with the old admiral in his second voyage, in 1493, and was now a man of age, experience, and wealth. With a commanding figure, spacious forehead, fair complexion, large clear eyes, well-chiselled nose and mouth, and a narrow full-bearded chin, the whole lighted by a pleasing intellectual expression, he presented, when elegantly attired as was his custom, as imposing a presence as any man in all the Indies. In history he also formed quite a figure. And yet there was nothing weighty in his character. He was remarkable rather for the absence of positive qualities; he could not lay claim even to conspicuous cruelty. He was not a bad man as times went; assuredly he was not a good man as times go. He could justly lay claim to all the current vices, but none of them were enormous enough to be interesting. In temper he was naturally mild

and affable, yet suspicious and jealous, and withal easily influenced; so that when roused to anger, as was frequently the case, he was beside himself.

Chief assistant in his new pacification was Pánfilo de Narvaez, who brought from Jamaica thirty archers, and engaged in the customary butchering, while the governor, with three hundred men, quietly proceeded to found towns and settlements, such as Trinidad, Puerto del Príncipe, Matanzas, Santi Espíritu, San Salvador, Habana, and Santiago, making the seat of his government at the place last named, and appointing alcaldes in the several settlements. Other notable characters were likewise in attendance on this occasion, namely, Bartolomé de las Casas, Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba, Juan de Grijalva, and Hernan Cortés.

Discreet in his business, and burdened by no counteracting scruples, Velazquez and those who were with him prospered. Informed of this, above one hundred of the starving colonists at Darien obtained permission from Pedrarias in 1516 to pass over to Cuba, and were affably received by the governor. Most of them were well-born and possessed of means; for though provisions were scarce at Antigua, the South Sea expeditions of Vasco Nuñez, Badajoz, and Espinosa, had made gold plentiful there. Among this company was Bernal Diaz del Castillo, a soldier of fortune, who had come from Spain to Tierra Firme in 1514, and who now engages in the several expeditions to Mexico, and becomes, some years later, one of the chief historians of the conquest.

Ready for any exploit, and having failed to receive certain repartimientos promised them, the band from Tierra Firme cast glances toward the unknown west. The lesser isles had been almost depopulated by the slave-catchers, and from the shores of the adjoining mainland the affrighted natives had fled to the interior. It was still a profitable employment, however, for the colonists must have laborers, being themselves

entirely opposed to work. The governor of Cuba, particularly, was fond of the traffic, for it was safe and lucrative. Though a representative of royal authority in America, he was as ready as any irresponsible adventurer to break the royal command. During this same year of 1516, a vessel from Santiago had loaded with natives and provisions at the Guanaja Islands, and had returned to port. While the captain and crew were ashore for a carouse, the captives burst open the hatches, overpowered the nine men who had been left on guard, and sailed away midst the frantic gesticulations of the captain on shore. Reaching their islands in safety, they there encountered a brigantine with twenty-five Spaniards lying in wait for captives. Attacking them boldly, the savages drove them off toward Darien, and then burned the ship in which they themselves had made their enforced voyage to Cuba.

As a matter of course this atrocious conduct on the part of the savages demanded exemplary punishment. To this end two vessels were immediately despatched with soldiers who fell upon the inhabitants of Guanaja, put many to the sword, and carried away five hundred captives, beside securing gold to the value of twenty thousand pesos de oro.

Happy in the thought of engaging in an occupation so profitable, the chivalrous one hundred cheerfully adventured their Darien gold in a similar voyage, fitting out two vessels for the purpose, and choosing for their commander Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba, now a wealthy planter of Santi Espíritu.[1]

[1] In the memorial of Antonio Velazquez, successor of the adelantado, Diego Velazquez, *Memorial del negocio de D. Antonio Velazquez de Bazan*, in *Mendoza, Col. Doc. Inéd.*, x. 80–6, taken from the archives of the Indies, the credit of this expedition is claimed wholly for the governor. Indeed, Velazquez himself repeatedly asserts, as well as others, that the expedition was made at his cost. But knowing the man as we do, and considering the claims of others, it is safe enough to say that the governor did not invest much money in it. The burden doubtless fell on Córdoba, who was aided, as some think, by his associates, Cristóbal Morante and Lope Ochoa de Caicedo, in making up what the men of Darien lacked, *Torquemada*, i. 349, notwithstanding the claims for his fraternity of Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, i. Ogilby, *Hist. Am.*, 76,

Velazquez added a third vessel, a small bark, in consideration of a share in the speculation.[2] After laying in a supply of cassava, a bread made from the yucca root, and some salt beef, bacon, and glass beads for barter, the expedition departed from Santiago de Cuba, and went round to the north side of the island. There were in all one hundred and ten[3] soldiers, with Antonio de Alaminos as chief pilot, Alonso Gonzalez priest, and Bernardino Iñiguez king's treasurer. Here the chief pilot said to the commander, "Down from Cuba Island, in this sea of the west, my heart tells me there must be rich lands; because, when I

says the three associates were all Cuban planters; that they equipped three ships, Velazquez adding one. This Hernandez de Córdoba was not he who served as lieutenant under Pedrarias, though of the same name.

[2] Opinion has been divided as to the original purpose of the expedition. As it turned out, it was thought best on all sides to say nothing of the inhuman and unlawful intention of capturing Indians for slaves. Hence, in the public documents, particularly in the petitions for recompense which invariably followed discoveries, pains is taken to state that it was a voyage of discovery, and prompted by the governor of Cuba. As in the *Décadas Abreviadas de los Descubrimientos, Mendoza, Col. Doc. Inéd.*, viii. 5–54, we find that 'El adelantado Diego Velazquez de Cuéllar es autor del descubrimiento de la Nueva España,' so, in effect, it is recorded everywhere. Indeed, Bernal Diaz solemnly asserts that Velazquez at first stipulated that he should have three cargoes of slaves from the Guanaja Islands, and that the virtuous one hundred indignantly refused so to disobey God and the king as to turn free people into slaves. 'Y desque vimos los soldados, que aquello que pedia el Diego Velazquez no era justo, le respondimos, que lo que dezia, no lo mandaua Dios, ni el Rey; que hiziessemos á los libres esclavos.' *Hist. Verdad.*, i. On the strength of which fiction, Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, ii. 224, launches into laudation of the Spanish character. The honest soldier, however, finds difficulty in making the world believe his statement. Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 348, does not hesitate to say very plainly that the expedition was sent out to capture Indians, 'ir é enviar á saltear indios para traer á ella,' for which purpose there were always men with money ready; and that on this occasion Córdoba, Morante, and Caicedo subscribed 1,500 or 2,000 castellanos each, to go and catch Indians, either at the Lucayas Islands or elsewhere. Torquemada, i. 349, writes more mildly, yet plainly enough; 'para ir à buscar Indios, à las Islas Convecinas, y hacer Rescates, como hasta entonces lo acostumbraban.' Cogolludo, *Hist. Yucathan*, 1–6, follows Bernal Diaz almost literally. Gomara, *Hist. Ind.*, 60, is non-committal, stating first 'para descubrir y rescatar,' and afterward, 'Otros dizen que para traer esclauos delas yslas Guanaxos a sus minas y granjerias.' Oviedo and Herrera pass by the question. Landa, *Rel. de Yucatan*, 16, 'a rescatar esclavos para las minas, que ya en Cuba se yva la gente apocando y que otros dizen que salio a descubrir tierra.' Says the unknown author of *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 338, 'In has igitur insulas ad grassandum et prædandum, ut ita dicam, ire hi de quibus suprà dictum est, constituerant; non in Iucatanam.' It is clear to my mind that slaves were the first object, and that discovery was secondary, and an after-thought.

[3] Bernal Diaz holds persistently to 110. It was 110 who came from Tierra Firme, and after divers recruits and additions the number was still 110.

sailed as a boy with the old admiral, I remember he inclined this way." Suddenly the vision of Córdoba enlarged. Here might be something better, nobler, more profitable even than kidnapping the poor natives. Despatching a messenger to Velazquez, Córdoba asked, in case new discoveries were made while on the way to catch Indians, for permission to act as the governor's lieutenant in such lands. The desired authority was granted, and from the haciendas near by were brought on board sheep, pigs, and mares, so that stock-raising might begin if settlements were formed.

Sailing from the Habana, or San Cristóbal, the 8th of February, 1517, they came to Cape San Antonio, whence, on the 12th, they struck westward, and after certain days,[4] during two of which they were severely tempest-tossed, they discovered land;[5] first the point of an island, where were some fine salt-fields, and cultivated ground. The people who appeared on the shore were not naked as on the Islands, but well dressed in white and colored cotton, some with ornaments of gold, silver, and feathers. The men were

[4] Authorities vary, from four days given by Las Casas, and six by Oviedo, to 21 by Bernal Diaz and Herrera. The date of departure is also disputed, but the differences are unimportant. Compare *Peter Martyr*, dec. iv. cap. vi.; *Dufey, Résumé Hist. Am.*, i. 93; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 3; *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 348–63; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 3–8; *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, 60–1; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 1–2; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ii. cap. xvii.; *Solis, Hist. Mex.*, i. 22–4; *Vida de Cortés*, or *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortessii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 331–41; *March y Labores, Marina Española*, i. 463–8; *Robertson's Hist. Am.*, i. 237–40; *Fancourt's Hist. Yuc.*, 5–8.

[5] Though remarkably fair and judicious in the main, Mr Prescott's partiality for a certain class of his material is evident. To the copies from the Spanish archives, most of which have been since published with hundreds of others equally or more valuable, he seemed to attach an importance proportionate to their cost. Thus, throughout his entire work, these papers are paraded to the exclusion of the more reliable, but more accessible, standard authorities. In the attempt, at this point, to follow at once his document and the plainly current facts, he falls into an error of which he appears unconscious. He states, *Conq. Mex.*, i. 222, that Córdoba 'sailed with three vessels on an expedition to one of the neighboring Bahama Islands, in quest of Indian slaves. He encountered a succession of heavy gales which drove him far out of his course.' The Bahama Islands are eastward from Habana, while Cape San Antonio is toward the west. All the authorities agree that the expedition sailed directly westward, and that the storm did not occur until after Cape San Antonio had been passed, which leaves Mr Prescott among other errors in that of driving a fleet to the westward, in a storm, when it has already sailed thither by the will of its commander, in fair weather.

bold and brave, and the women well-formed and modest, with head and breast covered. Most wonderful of all, however, were some great towers, built of stone and lime, with steps leading to the top; and chapels covered with wood and straw, within which were found arranged, in artistic order, many idols apparently representing women, and that led the Spaniards to name the place De Las Mugeres.[6] Proceeding northward, they came to a larger point, of island or mainland; and presently they descried, two leagues from the shore, a large town, which was called El Gran Cairo.

While looking for an anchorage, on the morning of the 4th of March, five canoes approached the commander's vessel, and thirty men stepped fearlessly on board. The canoes were large, some of them capable of holding fifty persons; the men were intelligent, and wore a sleeveless cloak and apron of cotton.[7] The Spaniards gave them bacon and bread to eat, and to each a necklace of green glass beads. After closely scrutinizing the ship and its belongings, the natives put off for the shore. Early next day appeared the cacique with many men in twelve canoes, making signs of friendship, and crying, *Conex cotoch!* that is to say, Come to our houses; whence the place was called Punta de Catoche,[8] which name it bears to-day.

[6] Following Gomara and Torquemada, Galvano mentions the name of no other place in this voyage than that of Punta de las Dueñas, which he places in latitude 20°. He further remarks, *Descobrimentos*, 131, 'He gẽte milhor atauiada que ha em neuhũa outra terra, & cruzes em q' os Indios adorauam, & os punham sobre seus defuntos quando faleciam, donde parecia que em algum tẽpo se sentio aly a fe de Christo.' The anonymous author of *De Rebus Gestis* and all the best authorities recognize this as the first discovery. 'Sicque non ad Guanaxos, quos petebant, appulerunt, sed ad Mulierum promontorium.' Fernando Colon places on his map, 1527, *y: de mujeres;* Diego de Ribero, 1529, *d' mugeres*, the next name north being *amazonas*. Vaz Dourado, 1571, lays down three islands which he calls *p:. de majreles;* Hood, 1592, *Y. de mueres;* Laet, 1633, *Yas de mucheres;* Ogilby, 1671, *yas desconocida;* Dampier, 1699, *I. mugeras;* Jefferys, 1776, *Ia de Mujeres*, or *Woman's I.* It was this name that led certain of the chroniclers to speak of islands off the coast of Yucatan inhabited by Amazons. 'Sirvió de asilo en nuestros dias al célebre pirata Lafitte.' *Boletin de la Sociedad Mex. de Geog.*, iii. 224.

[7] For a description of these people see *Bancroft's Native Races*, i. 645–747.

[8] See *Landa, Rel. de Yuc.*, 6. '*Domum* Cotoche sonat: indicabant enim domus et oppidum haud longè abesse.' *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in

Thus invited, Córdoba, with several of his officers, and twenty-five soldiers armed with cross-bows and firelocks, accompanied the natives to the shore, where the cacique with earnest invitations to visit his town managed to lead them into ambush. The natives fought with flint-edged wooden swords, lances, bows, and slings, and were protected by armors of quilted cotton and shields, their faces being painted and their heads plumed. They charged the enemy bravely, amidst shouts and noise of instruments; several of the Spaniards were wounded, two fatally. At length the natives gave way before the sharp and sulphurous enginery of their exceedingly strange visitants, leaving fifteen of their number dead upon the ground. Two youths were taken prisoners, who were afterward baptized and named Julian and Melchor, and profitably employed by the Spaniards as interpreters. Near the battle-ground stood three more of those curious stone temples, one of which was entered by Father Gonzalez during the fight, and the earthen and wooden idols and ornaments and plates of inferior gold found there were carried away to the ship.

Embarking, and proceeding westward, the Spaniards arrived a fortnight later at Campeche,[9] where their amazement was increased on beholding the number and beauty of the edifices, while the blood

Icazbalceta, Col. Doc., i. 339. 'Conez cotoche, q̃ quiere dezir, Andad aca a mis casas.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ii. cap. xvii. 'Cotohe, cotohe,' that is to say, 'a house.' *Fancourt's Hist. Yuc.*, 6. 'Cotoche, q̃ quiere dezir casa.' *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, 61. '*Con escotoch, con escotoch*, y quiere dezir, andad acá á mis casas.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 2. This, the north-eastern point of Yucatan, is on Fernando Colon's map, 1527, *gotoche;* on the map of Diego de Ribero, 1529, *p: d'cotoche;* Vaz Dourado, 1571, *C:. de quoteche;* Pilestrina, *c:. de sampalq.* Hood places a little west of the cape a bay, *B. de conil;* the next name west is *Atalaia. Goldschmidt's Cartog. Pac. Coast*, MS., i. 358. Kohl, *Beiden ältesten karten*, 103, brings the expedition here the 1st of March. Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 350, confounds Córdoba's and Grijalva's voyages in this respect, that brings the former at once to Cozumel, when, as a matter of fact, Córdoba never saw that island.

[9] So called by the natives, but by the Spaniards named San Lázaro, because 'it was a Domingo de Lazaro' when they landed. Yet Ribero writes *chāpa*, while Vaz Dourado employs *llazaro*, and Hood, *Campechy;* Laet gives the name correctly; Ogilby and Jefferys call the place *S. Frco de Campeche.* 'Los Indios le deziõ Quimpech.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ii. cap. xvii.

and other evidences of human sacrifice discovered about the altars of the temples filled their souls with horror. And as they were viewing these monuments of a superior culture, the troops of armed natives increased, and the priests of the temples, producing a bundle of reeds, set fire to it, signifying to the visitors that unless they took their departure before the reeds were consumed every one of them would be killed. Remembering their wounds at Catoche, the Spaniards took the hint and departed.

They were soon caught in a storm and severely shaken; after which they began to look about for water, which had by this time become as precious to them as the Tyrian mures tincture, of which each shell-fish gave but a single drop. They accordingly came to anchor near a village called Potonchan, but owing to a sanguinary battle in which they were driven back, Córdoba named the place Bahía de Mala Pelea.[10] In this engagement the natives did not shrink from fighting hand to hand with the foe. Fifty-seven Spaniards were killed on the spot, two were carried off alive, and five died subsequently on shipboard. Those whom the natives could not kill they followed to the shore, in their disappointed rage, wading out into the sea after them, like the bloodthirsty Cyclops who pursued the Trojan Æneas and his crew. But one man escaped unharmed, and he of all the rest was selected for slaughter by the natives of Florida. Córdoba received twelve wounds; Bernal Diaz three. The survivors underwent much suffering before reaching Cuba, for the continued

[10] Now Champoton, applied to river and town. Ribero writes *camrō;* Hood, *Champoto;* Mercator, *Chapâton*, and town next north, *Maranga*. Potonchan, in the aboriginal tongue, signifies, 'Stinking Place.' Mercator has also the town of *Potōchan*, west of Tabasco River. *West-Indische Spieghel, Patōcham.* Laet, Ogilby, and Jefferys follow with *Champoton* in the usual variations. 'Y llegaron á otra provincia,' says Oviedo, i. 498, 'que los indios llaman *Aguanil*, y el prinçipal pueblo della se dice *Moscoba*, y el rey ó caçique de aquel señorio se llama Chiapoton;' and thus the author of *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, 'Nec diu navigaverant, cùm Mochocobocum perveniunt.' *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 340.

hostilities of the natives prevented their obtaining the needful supply of water.

There being no one else to curse except themselves, they cursed the pilot, Alaminos, for his discovery, and for still persisting in calling the country an island. Then they left Mala Pelea Bay and returned along the coast, north-eastwardly, for three days, when they entered an opening in the shore to which they gave the name of Estero de los Lagartos,[11] from the multitude of caimans found there. After burning one of the ships which had become unseaworthy, Córdoba crossed from this point to Florida, and thence proceeded to Cuba, where he died from his wounds, ten days after reaching his home at Santi Espíritu.

Diego Velazquez was much interested in the details of this discovery. He closely questioned the two captives about their country, its gold, its great buildings, and the plants which grew there. When shown the yucca root they assured the governor that they were familiar with it, and that it was called by them *tale*, though in Cuba the ground in which the yucca grew bore that name. From these two words, according to Bernal Diaz, comes the name Yucatan; for while the governor was speaking to the Indians of *yucca* and *tale*, some Spaniards standing by exclaimed, "You see, sir, they call their country Yucatan."[12]

[11] Pinzon and Solis must have found alligators in their northward cruise, otherwise Peter Martyr could not honestly lay down on his map of *India beyond the Ganges*, in 1510, the *baya d' lagartos* north of *guanase*. Mariners must have given the coast a bad name, for directly north of the *R. de la* of Colon, the *R:. de lag̃ r̃ tos* of Ribero, the *R:. de lagarts* of Vaz Dourado, and the *R. de Lagartos* of Hood, are placed some reefs by all these chart-makers, and to which they give the name *Alacranes*, Scorpions. The next name west of Lagartos on Map No. x., *Munich Atlas*, is *costanisa*, and on No. xiii. *Ostanca*. Again next west, on both, is *Medanos*. On No. x., next to *costa nisa*, and on No. xiii., west of *Punta de las Arenas*, is the name *Ancones*. Ogilby gives here *B. de Conil*, and in the interior south, a town *Conil;* east of *R. de Lagartos* is also the town *Quyo*, and in large letters the name *Chuaca*.

[12] 'Dezian los Españoles q̃ estavan hablãdo con el Diego Velazquez, y con los Indios: Señor estos Indios dizen, que su tierra se llama Yucatà, y assi se, quedò cõ este nóbre, que en propria lengua no se dize assi.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 5. Gomara, *Hist. Ind.*, 60, states that after naming Catoche, a little farther on the Spaniards met some natives, of whom they asked the name of the town near by. Tecteta, was the reply, which means, 'I do not understand.' The Spaniards,

The people of this coast seemed to have heard of the Spaniards, for at several places they shouted 'Castilians!' and asked the strangers by signs if they did not come from toward the rising sun. Yet, neither the glimpse caught of Yucatan by Pinzon and Solis in 1506 while in search of a strait north of Guanaja Island where Columbus had been, nor the piratical expedition of Córdoba, in 1517, can properly be called the discovery of Mexico.[13] Meanwhile Mexico can well afford to wait, being in no haste for European civilization, and the attendant boons which Europe seems so desirous of conferring.

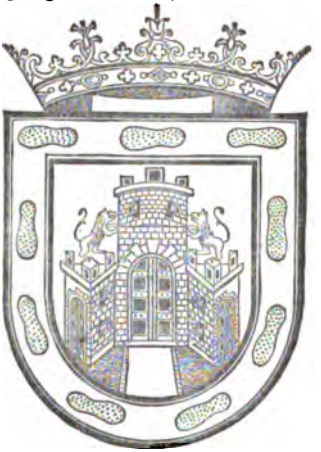
accepting this as the answer to their question, called the country Yectetan, and soon Yucatan. Waldeck, *Voy. Pittoresque*, 25, derives the name from the native word *ouyouckutan*, 'listen to what they say.' The native name was Maya. See *Bancroft's Native Races*, v. 614–34. There are various other theories and renderings, among them the following: In answer to Córdoba's inquiry as to the name of their country, the natives exclaimed, '*uy u tan*, esto es: *oyes como habla?*' *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, ii. 228. 'Que preguntundo a estos Indios, si auia en su tierra aquellas rayzes que se llama Yuca.... Respondian Ilatli, por la tierra en que se plantan, y que de Yuca juntado con Ilatli, se dixo Yucatta, y de alli Yucatan.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ii. cap. xviii. Whencesoever the origin, it was clearly a mistake, as there never was an aboriginal designation for the whole country, nor, like the Japanese, have they names for their straits or bays. For some time Yucatan was supposed to be an island. Grijalva called the country *Isla de Santa María de Remedios*, though that term was employed by few. In early documents the two names are united; instance the instructions of Velazquez to Cortés, where the country is called *la Ysla de Yucatan Sta María de Remedios*. On Cortés' chart of the Gulf of Mexico, 1520, it is called *Yucatan*, and represented as an island. Colon, 1527, and Ribero, 1529, who write *Ivcatan;* Ptolemy, in *Munster*, 1530, *Iucatana;* Orontius, on his globe, 1531, *Iucatans; Munich Atlas*, no. iv., 1532–40, *cucatan;* Baptista Agnese, 1540–50, *iucatan;* Mercator, 1569, *Ivcatan;* Michael Lok, 1582, *Incoton;* Hondius, 1595, Laet, Ogilby, etc., *Yucatan*, which now assumes peninsular proportions.

[13] The term Mexico has widely different meanings under different conditions. At first it signified only the capital of the Nahua nation, and it was five hundred years before it overspread the territory now known by that name. Mexico City was founded in 1325, and was called *Mexico Tenochtitlan*. The latter appellation has been connected with *Tenuch*, the Aztec leader at this time, and with the sign of a nopal on a stone, called in Aztec, respectively *nochtli* and *tetl*, the final syllable representing locality, and the first, *te*, divinity or superiority. The word Mexico, however, was then rarely used, Tenochtitlan being the common term employed; and this was retained by the Spaniards for some time after the conquest, even in imperial decrees, and in the official records of the city, though in the corrupt forms of *Temixtitan*, *Tenustitan*, etc. See *Libro de Cabildo*, 1524–9, MS. Torquemada, i. 293, states distinctly that even in his time the natives never employed any other designation for the ancient city than Tenochtitlan, which was also the name of the chief and fashionable ward. Solis, *Conq. Mex.*, i. 390, is of opinion that Mexico was the name of the ward, Tenochtitlan being applied to the whole city, in which case Mexico Tenochtitlan would signify the ward Mexico of the city Tenochtitlan. Gradually the

Spanish records began to add Mexico to Tenochtitlan, and in those of the first provincial council, held in 1555, we find written *Tenuxtitlan Mexico. Concilios Prov.*, i. and ii., MS. In the course of time the older and more intricate name disappeared, though the city arms always retained the symbolic nopal and stone. *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, i. 168; iv. 265–70; *Soc. Mex. Geog.*

ARMS OF THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO.

Boletin, viii. 408–15; *Veytia, Hist. Ant. Méj.*, ii. 157–9; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 146–7; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 2; *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, i. 92–3. See also *Molina, Vocabulario.* A number of derivations have been given to the word Mexico, as *mexitli*, navel of the maguey; *metl-ico*, place amidst the maguey; *meixco*, on the maguey border; *mecitli*, hare; *metztli*, moon; *amexica*, or *mexica*, you of the anointed ones. The signification spring, or fountain, has also been applied. But most writers have contented themselves by assuming it to be identical with the *mexi*, *mexitl*, or *mecitl*, appellation of the war god, Huitzilopochtli, to which has been added the *co*, an affix implying locality; hence Mexico would imply the place or settlement of *Mexica*, or *Mexicans*. This war god, Huitzilopochtli, as is well known, was the mythic leader and chief deity of the Aztecs, the dominant tribe of the Nahua nation. It was by this august personage, who was also called Mexitl, that, according to tradition, the name was given them in the twelfth century, and in these words: 'Inaxcan aocmoamotoca ynamaz te ca ye am mexica,' Henceforth bear ye not the name Azteca, but Mexica. With this command they received the distinguishing mark of a patch of gum and feathers to wear upon their forehead and ears. *Bancroft's Native Races*, ii. 559; iii. 295–6; v. 324–5 et passim. I can offer no stronger proof as to the way in which the name was regarded at the time of the conquest, and afterwards, than by placing side by side the maps of the sixteenth century and instituting a comparison. In *Apiano, Cosmographica*, 1575, is a map, supposed to be a copy of one drawn by Apianus in 1520, on which *Themisteton* is given apparently to a large lake in the middle of Mexico; Fernando Colon, in 1527, and Diego de Ribero, 1529, both give the word



ANCIENT ARMS OF THE CITY OF MEXICO, FROM A RARE PRINT.

Mexico in small letters, inland, as if applied to a town, although no town is designated; Ptolemy, in *Munster*, 1530, gives *Temistitan; Munich Atlas*, no. vi., supposed to have been drawn between 1532 and 1540, *Timitistan vel Mesicho;* Baptista Agnese, 1540–50, *Timitistan vel Mesico;* Ramusio, 1565, *Mexico; Mercator's Atlas*, 1569, *Mexico*, as a city, and *Tenuchitlan;* Michael Lok, 1582, *Mexico*, in Hondius, about 1595, in *Drake's World Encompassed*, the city is *Mexico*, and the gulf *Baia di Mexico;* Hondius, in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, Laet, Ogilby, Dampier, *West-Indische Spieghel*, Jacob Colom, and other seventeenth-century authorities, give uniformly to the city, or to the city and province, but not to the country at large, the name as at present written.

CHAPTER II.

JUAN DE GRIJALVA EXPLORES THE WESTERN SIDE OF THE MEXICAN GULF.

1518.

VELAZQUEZ PLANS A NEW EXPEDITION—GIVES THE COMMAND TO HIS NEPHEW, JUAN DE GRIJALVA—WHO EMBARKS AT SANTIAGO AND STRIKES THE CONTINENT AT COZUMEL ISLAND—COASTS SOUTHWARD TO ASCENSION BAY—THEN TURNS AND DOUBLES CAPE CATOCHE—NAMING OF NEW SPAIN—FIGHT AT CHAMPOTON—ARRIVAL AT LAGUNA DE TÉRMINOS—ALAMINOS, THE PILOT, IS SATISFIED THAT YUCATAN IS AN ISLAND—THEY COAST WESTWARD AND DISCOVER THE RIVERS SAN PEDRO Y SAN PABLO AND TABASCO—NOTABLE INTERVIEW AT THIS PLACE BETWEEN THE EUROPEANS AND THE AMERICANS—THE CULHUA COUNTRY—THEY PASS LA RAMBLA, TONALÁ, THE RIO GOAZACOALCO, THE MOUNTAIN OF SAN MARTIN, THE RIVERS OF ALVARADO AND BANDERAS, AND COME TO THE ISLANDS OF SACRIFICIOS AND SAN JUAN DE ULUA.

As Diego Velazquez talked with Córdoba's men, and with the captives, Melchor and Julian, and examined the articles obtained from the natives, their superior kind and workmanship, and the gold and images taken from the temple at Catoche by Father Gonzalez, all grew significant of yet greater things beyond. The hardships attending the expedition were light to him who did not share them, and the late commander being now dead, the governor found himself free to act as best suited him.

He determined at once on a new expedition. There was a young man who seemed admirably fitted for the purpose, Juan de Grijalva, a gentleman of the governor's own town of Cuéllar, nephew of Velazquez, though some deny the fact; he was twenty-eight years of age, handsome, chivalrous, courteous,

and as honest as he was brave. He had been with the governor for some time, and the wonder was how so bad a master should have so good a man. There was no lack of volunteers, two hundred and forty[1] coming forward at once; among them several who afterward became famous. Two caravels were added to the two brought back by Córdoba, making in all, refitted and equipped, four vessels, the *San Sebastian*, the *Trinidad*, the *Santiago*, and the *Santa María de los Remedios*. The pilots and many of the men from the former expedition were engaged, and some natives of Cuba were taken as servants. Grijalva, as commander of the armada, directed one vessel, and Pedro de Alvarado, Alonso Dávila, and Francisco de Montejo,[2] were appointed captains of the others. Grijalva's instructions were not to settle, but only to discover and trade.[3] License was obtained from the Jeronimite Fathers, who stipulated that Francisco de Peñalosa should accompany the expedition as veedor. As priest, attended one Juan Diaz,[4] and Diego de Godoy went as notary.

[1] Solis and Herrera say 250; Gomara and Galvano, 200; Peter Martyr, 300, etc.

[2] Torquemada, i. 358, asserts that Montejo furnished his own vessel, and that Alonso Hernandez Puertocarrero, Alonso Dávila, Diego de Ordaz, and others, went at their own cost.

[3] As upon this point, that is to say, the orders and their fulfilment, turned the destiny, not only of Grijalva, but of the conquest, there has been much controversy over it. 'Si Iuan de Grijalua supiera conocer aquella buena vẽtura, y poblara alli como los de su compañia le rogauan, fuera otro Cortes, mas no era para el tanto bien, ni lleuaua comission de poblar.' *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, 57–8. Partisans of Cortés regard Grijalva with disdain, while no one seems greatly to care for Velazquez. Bernal Diaz was of opinion that the matter of founding a colony was left to Grijalva's discretion; but Las Casas, who had much better opportunities for knowing, being intimate with the governor, and at special pains to ascertain the truth of the matter, states clearly that Grijalva's instructions were positive, that he should not settle but only trade. 'Bartolome de las Casas, autor de mucha fe, y que con particular cuydado lo quiso saber, y era gran amigo, y muy intimo de Diego Velazquez, dize que fue la instruccion que espressamente no poblasse, sino q̃ solamente rescatasse." *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. i. So hold Torquemada, Solis, and all careful writers on the subject.

[4] Or as he calls himself, 'capellano maggior' of the armada. Long before the soldier, Bernal Diaz, published his 'True History,' Juan Diaz had given to the world an account of the voyage, *Itinerario de la isola de Iuchatan*, following the *Itinerario de Ludovico de Varthema Bolognese nella Egitto*, etc., in a volume printed at Venice in 1520. Juan Diaz disputes the honor with Bartolomé de Olmedo of having first said mass in the city of Mexico.

Embarking from Santiago de Cuba the 8th of April, 1518, and leaving Cape San Antonio on Saturday,[5] the first of May, they fell to the south of their intended course, and on Monday sighted the island of Cozumel,[6] which they named Santa Cruz,[7] "because," says Galvano, "they came to it the third of May." After passing round the northern point on the sixth[8] in search of anchorage, the commander

[5] Here again Prescott falls into error in attempting to follow a manuscript copy of Juan Diaz, without due heed to the standard chroniclers. Mr Prescott writes, *Mex.*, i. 224, 'The fleet left the port of St Jago de Cuba, May 1, 1518,' and refers to the *Itinerario* of Juan Diaz in proof of his statement. But Juan Diaz makes no such statement. 'Sabbato il primo giorno del mese de Mazo,' he says, *Itinerario*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 281, 'de questo sopradito anno parti il dicto capitaneo de larmata de lisola Fernandina.' Saturday, the 1st day of May, the armada left the island of Fernandina, or Cuba. The writer does not intimate that they left the port of Santiago on that day, which, as a matter of fact, they did not, but the extreme western point of the island, Cape San Antonio. This Prescott might further have learned from Herrera, dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. i., 'Despachado pues Iuan de Grijalua de todo punto, salio del puerto de Sãtiago de Cuba, a ocho de Abril deste año de 1518;' from Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 6, who states that all met and attended mass at Matanzas, the 5th of April, just prior to sailing; 'Y despues de auer oído Missa con gran deuocion, en cinco dias del mes de Abril de mil y quinientos y diez y ocho años dimos vela;' from Solis, *Conq. Mex.*, i. 25, 'tardaron finalmente en hacerse á la mar hasta los ocho de Abril;' from Robertson, *Hist. Am.*, i. 241, 'He sailed from St Jago de Cuba on the 8th of April,' etc. Ternaux-Compans perpetrates two gross blunders in the first four lines of his translation of this *Itinerario* of Juan Diaz. First he writes March for May, 'equivocando,' as Icazbalceta says, 'la palabra *mazo* del original con *marzo*,' and, secondly, he brings the fleet to Cozumel Island on the 4th, when his author writes the 3d, which is enough, without the palpable absurdity of making Monday the 4th day of a month wherein the previous Saturday was the 1st. Oviedo states, i. 503, that 'salieron del puerto de la cibdad de Sanctiago á los veynte é çinco dias del mes de enero;' that they were at Matanzas the 12th of February, at Habana the 7th of April; that they left Matanzas finally the 20th of April, and San Antonio the 1st of May, in all which, except the last statement, he is somewhat confused.

[6] Like a good soldier, Bernal Diaz makes the time fit the occasion. 'A este pueblo,' he says, *Hist. Verdad.*, 7, 'pusimos por nombre Santa Cruz; porq̃ quatro, ò cinco diaz antes de Santa Cruz le vimos.' The native name of the island was *Acusamil*—Landa, *Rel. de Yuc.*, 20, writes it *Cuzmil;* Cogolludo, *Hist. Yucathan*, 10, *Cuzamil*—Swallow's Island, which was finally corrupted into the Cozumel of the Spaniards. Mercator, indeed, writes *Acusamil*, in 1569, although Colon, Ribero, and Hood had previously given *coçumel, cozumel*, and *Cosumel*, respectively. Vaz Dourado comes out, in 1571, with *quoqumell*, since which time the name has been generally written as at present.

[7] Some of the authorities apply the name Santa Cruz to a port; others to a town found there; but it was unquestionably the island to which they gave this name. 'A questa isola de Coçumel che ahora se adimanda Santa Croce.' *Diaz, Itinerario*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 287. 'Se le puso nombre á esta isla *Sancta Cruz*, á la qual los indios llaman *Coçumel*.' *Oviedo*, i. 504.

[8] This, according to Diaz; Oviedo says they landed on Wednesday, the 5th, and again on the 6th; and Bernal Diaz affirms that the landing took place on the south side of the island.

landed with a hundred men, and ascending a high tower took possession of the country; after which, mass was said. And Las Casas questions if it was quite right for Juan Diaz to hold this solemn service in a place where sacrifices were wont to be made to Satan; for even between the two great and formal exercises of the Spaniards, an old Indian priest with his attendants had entered and had blown incense before the idols, as if to rouse his gods to vindicate their might before these opposing worshippers. To

the point was given the name San Felipe y Santiago, and to a town standing near, that of San Juan ante Portam Latinam. Then they entered the town, and found there houses of stone, and paved streets, in the eyes of Juan Diaz not unlike the towns of Spanish construction. Meanwhile, a small party penetrated one or two leagues into the interior, and observed other towns and cultivated lands.

While crossing to the Yucatan coast the following day, they descried in the distance three towns, and, as they descended toward the south, a city "so large that Seville could not show to better advantage."

Next they came to a great opening in the shore, to which, after Alaminos had examined it in a boat, they gave the name of Bahía de la Ascension, from the day of discovery. Unable to find a pass in this direction round the supposed island of Yucatan, they turned back, passed Cozumel, and, rounding the peninsula, arrived at Campeche the 25th, rescuing on their way a woman from Jamaica.

Everywhere they beheld the same evidences of high culture seen by Córdoba, the tower-temples and crosses of the Mayas rising from gracefully outlined promontories, and glistening white from behind legended hills, leading them every moment to anticipate the discovery of some magnificent city, such as in our day has been revealed to an admiring posterity; for while the East buries her ancient cities in dust, the West none the less effectually hides hers in foliage. And of the monuments to the greatness of the past, and of the profitless millions here engendered, who shall speak? And why do men call nature considerate or kind? Does she not create only to destroy, and bestow blessings and cursings with the same merciless indifference? Surpassingly lovely, she is at once siren, nurse, and sanguinary beldam. This barren border of the peninsula rested under a canopy of clear or curtained sky, and glared in mingled gloom and brightness beside the fickle gulf; and from the irregular plains of the interior came the heated, perfumed air, telling here of treeless table-lands, of languid vegetation, and there of forests and evergreen groves. "It is like Spain," cried one. And so they called the country Nueva España,[9] which name, at first applied only to the

[9] It was the crosses, which the Spaniards here regarded of miraculous origin, more than any physical feature which after all gave the name to these shores. Cortés established it for all the region under Aztec sway, and under the viceroys it was applied to all the Spanish possessions north of Guatemala, including the undefined territories of California and New Mexico. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 6–7, and others, have even shown an inclination to embrace thereunder Central America, but for this there is not sufficient authority. See *Mé-*

peninsula of Yucatan, finally spread over the whole of the territory afterward known as Mexico.

At Campeche, or more probably at Champoton,[10] occurred a notable affray. The fleet anchored toward sunset, half a league from shore. The natives immediately put on a warlike front, bent on terrible intimidations, which they continued in the form of shouts and drum-beating during the entire night. So great was their necessity for water that the Spaniards did not wait for the morning, but amidst the arrows, stones, and spears of the natives, they landed the artillery and one hundred men before daybreak, another hundred quickly following. But for their cotton armor the invaders would have suffered severely during this operation. Having reached the shore, however, the guns were planted, and the natives

dina, Chron. de San Diego de Mex., 227; *Lopez Vaz*, in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, iv. 1432, and *Gottfriedt, Newe Welt*, 74; also Torquemada, from Herrera, and several standard authors. New Spain was for a long time divided into the three kingdoms of New Spain, New Galicia, and New Leon, each composed of several provinces. Under the administration of Galvez, this division gave way to intendencias, among them Mexico and a few provinces, and New Spain came to be limited in the north by the Provincias Internas, though including for a time at least the Californias. With the independence the name New Spain was replaced by Mexico, less because this term applied to the leading province and to the capital, than because the name was hallowed by association with the traditions of the people, whose blood as well as sympathies contained far more of the aboriginal element than of the imported. On Colon's map the name is given in capital letters, *Nova Spaña*. Under *Nveva España* Ribero writes *dixose asì por queay aquy muchas cosas que ay en españa ay ya mucho trigo q̃ue lleuado de aca entanta cantidad q̃ lo pueden ea cargar para otras partes ay aquy mucho oro de nacimiento*. Robert Thorne, in *Hakluyt's Voy.*, carries *Hispania Noua* east and west through Central America, while Ramusio, *Viaggi*, iii. 455, places *La Nov ι Spagna* in large letters across the continent.

[10] It is remarkable, as I have often observed, how two eye-witnesses can sometimes tell such diametrically opposite stories; not only in regard to time and minor incidents, but to place and prominent events. In this instance Diaz the priest is no less positive and minute in placing the affair at Campeche, than is Diaz the soldier, at Champoton. The second-rate authorities, following these two writers who were present, are divided, by far the greater number, Herrera among the rest, accepting the statement of Bernal Diaz. Oviedo, who was a resident of the Indies at the time, describes the battle as occurring at Campeche. Perhaps one reason why the soldier-scribe has more adherents than the priest, is because the existence of the narrative of the latter was not so well known. Las Casas affirms, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 425, that the pilot unintentionally passed Lázaro's port, or Campeche, and landed and fought at Champoton. 'Llegaron, pues, al dicho pueblo (que, como dije, creo que fué Champoton, y no el de Lázaro).'

charged and driven back with the loss of three Spaniards slain and sixty wounded, the commander-in-chief, ever foremost in the fight, being three times struck and losing two teeth. Two hundred were killed and wounded among the natives. The town was found deserted. Presently three ancient Americans appeared, who were kindly entreated, and despatched with presents to the fugitives, but they never returned. Two nights were spent ashore, the tower and sacred edifices adjacent being used as barracks.

Embarking, soon a large opening in the coast was discovered, and entered by Grijalva, the chaplain says, the last day of May. Puerto Deseado[11] the commander called his anchorage, being the desired spot in which might be repaired the leaky ships. The Spaniards thought themselves at first at the mouth of a river, but on further examination, it appeared to them more like a sea. Whereupon the pilot Alaminos, who, notwithstanding evidence to the contrary, notwithstanding three days' explorings, left this salt-sheet still landlocked, never ceased insisting that Yucatan was an island, and he now gravely assured his commander that the great opening opposite Amatique Bay and Golfo Dulce, or if that were too far, then opposite Chetumal or Ascension, confirmed his suppositions, and settled the matter in his mind that this was the termination of the islands; hence the names Boca de Términos, and Laguna de Términos,[12] which followed. The temples

[11] Puerto Escondido. On the maps of Colon and Hood it is placed as one of the eastern entrances of the Laguna de Términos, the former writing *p. deseado*, and the latter *P. desiado;* Gomara places the *Laguna de Términos* between Puerto Deseado and Rio Grijalva. On Ribero's map, north of Escondido, is *la ger*, Vaz Dourado marking in the same locality *p:. seqº amgratriste*, Dampier gives *Boca Eschondido*, and Jefferys, *Boca Escondida*.

[12] Velazquez had instructed his captain to sail round the island of Yucatan. Cortés, in 1519, ordered Escobar to survey this sheet, which was found to be a bay and shallow. Still the pilots and chart-makers wrote it down an island. It is worthy of remark that in the earliest drawings, like Colon's, in 1527, the maker appears undecided, but Ribero, two years later, boldly severs the peninsula from the continent with a strait. See *Goldschmidt's Cartog. Pac. Coast*, MS., i. 412–14. The earliest cartographers all write *terminos*, Ribero marking a small stream flowing into the lagoon, *R:. de x pianos*. Here also

here seen were supposed by the Spaniards to be places where merchants and hunters made their sacrifices. A greyhound, eager in the pursuit of game, neglected to return in time and was left behind; when the Spaniards came with Cortés they found the animal well-fed and happy, but excessively glad to see them. Before departing, Grijalva again declared for Spain, "as if," growls Las Casas, "the thousand possessions already taken were not enough." Indeed, this fierce charging on a continent, so often repeated, hurling upon the inhabitants a new religion and a new king, was about as effective as Caligula's advance on Britain, when, preparatory to crossing, he drew up his troops in battle array, on the seaboard, and gave orders to collect shells, the spoils of conquered ocean.

Proceeding the 8th of June, and creeping stealthily along the coast,[13] dropping anchor at night and weighing it with the dawn, they came to a river which they called San Pedro y San Pablo, and then to a larger one, the native name of which was Tabasco,[14] after the cacique of the city, but which the Spaniards called Grijalva, in honor of their commander.

The face of nature here changed. The low, gray hills of the peninsula gave place to elevations of enlivening green, made lustrous by large and frequent

is the town and point of Jicalango. Ogilby calls the lagoon *Lago de Xicalango*, east of which is the name *Nra Sra de la Vitoria;* Dampier places south of *Laguna Termina* the town *Chukabul;* Jefferys writes in large letters, a little south of *Laguna de Xicalango* or *Terminos*, the words *Quehaches Indios Bravos.* Kohl thinks Puerto Escondido may be the Puerto Deseado of Grijalva mentioned by Gomara.

[13] Of 'la isola riccha chiamata Ualor,' as the chaplain calls it, *Diaz, Itinerario*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 295, 'descoprir una altra terra che se dice Mulua.' Alaminos believed New Spain to be another island distinct from Yucatan. The natives called it Coluá, says Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 428.

[14] On the chart of Cortés, 1520, it is called *R:. de Guzalua*, and placed west instead of east of Rio Santa Ana. Ribero writes, *R:. de grisalua;* Vaz Dourado, *Ro. de grigalua;* Hood, *R. de Grisalua; Mercator's Atlas*, 1574, has a town, *Tausco;* Ogilby, Dampier, and Jefferys employ the name *Tabasco.* Kohl ascribes the name of the river *San Pedro y San Pablo* to Grijalva. Colon has *R:. de s. pablo;* Ribero, *R. de s:. Pabo; Munich Atlas*, No. iv., *rio de s. p.;* Baptista Agnese, *rio de S. paulo;* Hood, *R. de S. Pablo;* Ogilby, *S. Paulo;* Dampier, *St. Peter, St. Paul*, etc. As there are plenty of streams in that vicinity Herrera gives one to Grijalva and still leaves the chieftain, Tabasco, his own.

streams. Boldly in the front stood the heights at present known as San Gabriel; beyond continued the flat, monotonous foreground of a gorgeous picture, as yet but dimly visible save in the ardent imaginings of the discoverers.

The two smaller vessels only could enter this river of Tabasco, which, though broad, was shallow-mouthed; and this they did very cautiously, advancing a short distance up the stream, and landing at a grove of palm-trees, half a league from the chief town. Upon the six thousand[15] natives who here threatened them, they made ready to fire; but by peaceful overtures the sylvan multitude were brought to hear of Spain's great king, of his mighty pretensions, and of the Spaniards' inordinate love of gold. The green beads the natives thought to be stone made of their chalchiuite, which they prized so highly, and for which they eagerly exchanged food. Having a lord of their own they knew not why these rovers should wish to impose upon them a new master; for the rest they were fully prepared, if necessary, to defend themselves. During this interview, at which the interpreters, Melchor and Julian, assisted, the word Culhua,[16] meaning Mexico, was often mentioned in answer to demands for gold, from

[15] It is Las Casas who testifies to 6,000; Bernal Diaz enumerates 50 canoes; Herrera speaks of three *Xiquipiles* of 8,000 men each, standing ready in that vicinity to oppose the Spaniards, waiting only for the word to be given.

[16] Not 'Culba, Culba, Mexico, Mexico,' as Bernal Diaz has it. The natives pronounced the word Culhua only; but this author, finding that Culhua referred to Mexico, puts the word Mexico into the mouth of Tabasco and his followers. Long before the Aztecs, a Toltec tribe called the Acolhuas, or Culhuas, had settled in the valley of Mexico. The name is more ancient than that of Toltec, and the Mexican civilization might perhaps as appropriately be called Culhua as Nahua. The name is interpreted 'crooked' from *coloa*, bend; also 'grandfather' from *colli*. Colhuacan might therefore signify Land of our Ancestors. Under Toltec dominion a tripartite confederacy had existed in the valley of Anáhuac, and when the Aztecs became the ruling nation, this alliance was reëstablished. It was composed of the Acolhua, Aztec, and Tepanec kingdoms, the Aztec king assuming the title Culhua Tecuhtli, chief of the Culhuas. It is evident that the Culhuas had become known throughout this region by their conquests, and by their culture, superior as it was to that of neighboring tribes. The upstart Aztecs were only too proud to identify themselves with so renowned a people. The name Culhua was retained among the surrounding tribes, and applied before Grijalva to the Mexican country, where gold was indeed abundant.

which the Spaniards inferred that toward the west they would find their hearts' desire. Then they returned to their ships.

In great state, unarmed, and without sign of fear, Tabasco next day visited Grijalva on board his vessel. He had already sent roasted fish, fowl, maize bread, and fruit, and now he brought gold and feather-work. Out of a chest borne by his attendants was taken a suit of armor, of wood overlaid with gold, which Tabasco placed upon Grijalva, and on his head a golden helmet, giving him likewise masks and breast-plates of gold and mosaic, and targets, collars, bracelets, and beads, all of beaten gold, three thousand pesos in value. With the generous grace and courtesy innate in him, Grijalva took off a crimson velvet coat and cap which he had on when Tabasco entered, also a pair of new red shoes, and in these brilliant habiliments arrayed the chieftain, to his infinite delight.

The Spaniards departed from Tabasco with further assurances of friendship, and two days later sighted the town of Ahualulco, which they named La Rambla, because the natives with tortoise-shell shields were observed hurrying hither and thither upon the shore. Afterward they discovered the river Tonalá, which was subsequently examined and named San Antonio;[17] then the Goazacoalco,[18] which they could not enter owing to unfavorable winds; and presently the great snowy mountains of New Spain, and a nearer range, to which they gave the name San Martin,[19] in justice

[17] 'Das grosse Fest des heiligen Antonius von Padua fällt auf den 13 Juni, und dies giebt uns also eine Gelegenheit eines der Daten der Reise des Grijalva, deren uns die Berichterstatter, wie immer, nur wenige geben, genau festzusetzen.' *Kohl, Beiden ältesten Karten*, 105. Cortés, in his chart of the Gulf of Mexico, 1520, calls it *Santo Anton;* Fernando Colon, 1527, *R. de la Balsa*, with the name *G. de s. anton* to the gulf; Ribero, 1529, *r: de Sāton;* Globe of Orontius, 1531, *C. S. ūto;* Vaz Dourado, 1571, *rio de S. ana;* Hood, 1592, *R. de S. Antonio*, etc. For *Santa Ana* Dampier in 1699 lays down *St. Anns*, and Jefferys in 1776, *B. St. Ann.*

[18] Cortés calls it *Rio de totuqualquo;* Colon, *R. de gasacalcos;* Ribero, *R. de guasacalco;* Orontius, *R. de qualq°;* Vaz Dourado, *R.° de de guaqaqa;* Hood, *R. de Guaca;* Mercator, *Quacaqualco;* De Laet, Ogilby, *R. de Guazacoalco;* Jefferys, *R. Guazacalo;* Dampier, *R. Guazacoalco* or *Guashigwalp.*

[19] Colon gives it, *Sierras de San mrti;* Vaz Dourado, *seras de S. martin;*

to the soldier who first saw it. Overcome by his ardor, Pedro de Alvarado pressed forward his faster-sailing ship, and entered before the others a river called by the natives Papaloapan, but named by his soldiers after the discoverer;[20] for which breach of discipline the captain received the censure of his commander. The next stream to which they came was called Rio de Banderas,[21] because the natives appeared in large numbers, carrying white flags on their lances.

With these white flags the natives beckoned the strangers to land; whereupon twenty soldiers were sent ashore under Francisco de Montejo, and a favorable reception being accorded them, the commander approached with his ships and landed. The utmost deference was paid the guests, for, as will hereafter more fully appear, the king of kings, Lord Montezuma, having in his capital intelligence of the strange visitors upon his eastern seaboard, ordered them to be reverentially entertained. In the cool shade was spread on mats an abundance of provisions, while fumes of burning incense consecrated the spot and made redolent the air. The governor of this province was present with two subordinate rulers, and learning what best the Spaniards loved, he sent out and gathered them gold trinkets to the value of fifteen thousand pesos. So valuable an acquisition impelled Grijalva to claim once more for Charles, one of the natives, subsequently christened Francisco, acting as interpreter. After a stay of six days the fleet sailed, passing a small island, white with sand, which

Hood, *Sierras de St. min;* Ogilby, *Sierras de S. Martin;* Dampier, *St. Martin's High Land*, and *St. Martin's Point.* This soldier, San Martin, was a native of Habana.

[20] Herrera makes the Indian name Papaloava; Bernal Diaz, Papalohuna, Cortés, 1520, and Orontius, 1531, give *R. d alvarado;* Colon, 1527, *R: del comendador aluarado;* Ribero, 1529, *R:. de Aluarado;* Vaz Dourado, 1571, *Ro. de Alluorado*, etc. 'Die Karte von 1527 hat den *Rio del comendador Alvarado* etwas weiter westlich, jenseits des Rio de banderas, welches keineswegs mit den Berichten des Bernal Diaz übereinstimmt.' *Kohl, Beiden ältesten Karten*, 106.

[21] Some of the early maps place this stream incorrectly east of the Papaloapan; where Ribero writes *P. delgada*, first east from *R: de uanderàs*, Vaz Dourado writes *p:. de higada.*

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CHAPTER III.

RETURN OF GRIJALVA. A NEW EXPEDITION ORGANIZED.

1518.

REFUSAL OF GRIJALVA TO SETTLE—ALVARADO SENT BACK TO CUBA—GRIJALVA CONTINUES HIS DISCOVERY—AFTER REACHING THE PROVINCE OF PÁNUCO HE TURNS BACK—TOUCHING AT THE RIO GOAZACOALCO, TONALÁ, THE LAGUNA DE TÉRMINOS, AND CHAMPOTON, THE EXPEDITION RETURNS TO CUBA—GRIJALVA TRADUCED AND DISCHARGED—A NEW EXPEDITION PLANNED—VELAZQUEZ SENDS TO SANTO DOMINGO AND SPAIN—CHARACTERS OF VELAZQUEZ AND GRIJALVA CONTRASTED—CANDIDATES FOR THE CAPTAINCY OF THE NEW EXPEDITION—THE ALCALDE OF SANTIAGO SUCCESSFUL—HIS STANDING AT THAT TIME.

AT various places during this expedition, notably where is now Vera Cruz, and at the River Tabasco, both in coming and returning, Grijalva's men begged permission to settle and subdue the country. In their desire to remain they pictured to themselves all the pleasures of the abandoned crew of Ulysses, in a land as happy as that of which Horace sang, where Ceres decked untilled fields with sheaves and Bacchus revelled under purple-clustered vines. And they were angry with their commander for not breaking the instructions which forbade his colonizing. Pedro de Alvarado was particularly chafed by the restraint, though he kept his temper until he obtained permission to return to Cuba with one of the vessels[1] which had become unseaworthy, so as to report to the governor the progress of the discovery, and obtain recruits and fresh supplies, with permission to found a colony. Beside some fifty sick persons, all the gold, cotton, and other articles obtained from the natives

[1] Herrera says it was the *San Sebastian;* Oviedo, the *Trinidad.*

thus far were placed in Alvarado's ship, which sailed the 24th of June. The remainder of the expedition continued its now north-westward course past Nautla,[2] which the Spaniards called Almería, and with the mountains of Tuxpan[3] in full view, advanced as far as Cabo Rojo, some say as far as the Rio de Pánuco.[4] The entrance to the large lagoon now known as the Bahía de Tanguijo, was mistaken for a river and named Rio de Canoas. On anchoring here the ships of the Spaniards were fiercely attacked by the occupants of twelve canoes,[5] which came out from a large city compared by the worthy chaplain to Seville in size and magnificence, in common with other towns along this seaboard; and as if this were not strange enough, the same authority goes on to

[2] Town and river given both by Cortés and Orontius. Colon writes *R: de almeria;* Ribero *almera;* Vaz Dourado, *allmeira;* Hood, *Almeria;* nos. vi. and vii., *Munich Atlas, rio de almeria,* and Mercator, *Almeria.* Ogilby places north of *Lhanos de Almeria* a large gulf labelled *R. de S Po y S Paulo,* and south of it *Toluia,* and *Tore Branco.* Dampier lays down *Almeria I.* opposite *Tispe* and *Haniago Isle* on the mainland. Laet gives *Naothlan ó Almeria,* and *Lhanos de Almeria.*

[3] 'Vimos las sierras de Tusta, y mas adelante de a hi â otros dos dias vimos otros sierras muy altas, q̃ agora se llamâ las sierras de Tuspa;' so called, Bernal Diaz says, *Hist. Verdad.,* 10, from the towns lying at their base. The Rio de Tuxpan is supposed to be the *San Pedro y San Pablo* of early days. 'Da das Peter-und Pauls-Fest auf den 29 Juni.'

[4] 'Kohl thinks Grijalva did not pass Cabo Rojo, the *C:. roxo* of Vaz Dourado, and Hood, and I am inclined to agree with him. Bernal Diaz says, *Hist. Verdad,* 10, 'Y esto es ya en la Provincia de Panuco: é yendo por nuestra nauegaciò llegamos á vn rio grande, que le pusimos por nõbre Rio de Canoas.' The nomenclature of this stream is quite regular in the several times and places. Cortés gives *Rio Panuco loaton;* Colon, *R: panuco;* Ribero and Vaz Dourado, *panuco;* Orontius, *R. panico;* Hood, *Panuço;* Baptista Agnese, *panucho,* and *rio panucho;* no. vi. *Munich Atlas* the same; Ptolemy, 1530, in *Munster, Panuco;* Mercator, river and town *Panuco,* and next town south *Chila.* And so on with Hondius, Ogilby, Dampier, and the rest. See *Goldschmidt's Cartog. Pac. Coast,* MS., i. 578. Upon the hypothesis that the San Pedro y San Pablo and the Tuxpan were two streams, the latter may have been the Rio de Canoas of Grijalva and the Pánuco discovered by Montejo and Alaminos the year following, as Kohl surmises, but not otherwise. Herrera says the expedition did not pass Cabo Rojo; Bernal Diaz speaks of a wide projecting cape, which does not exist beyond the Pánuco River. Yet both affirm that the province of Pánuco was reached, and we well know that little would be said to strangers of an aboriginal province by its inhabitants before its great town, or its great river, was approached. Hence the general impression that Grijalva on this occasion coasted as far as Tampico, and that the Pánuco was his Rio de Canoas. It is my opinion that the entrance to the Bahía de Tanguijo, mistaken for a river, was the Rio de Canoas of Grijalva, and that Cabo Rojo was his ultimate point of discovery.

[5] Some say sixteen.

relate a miracle which happened here because Grijalva refused the soldiers leave to sack the place; how a star, poised above the fleet after sunset, shot toward the town and hung over it invitingly, as if Jehovah signified his pleasure that the Christians should seize the city.[6]

After beating back the canoes the Spaniards proceeded, but found their course impeded by the currents off Cabo Rojo; from which circumstance, together with the hostility of the natives, the rapidity with which the season was advancing, and the condition of the ships, they determined to return. Turning toward the southward, therefore, they were carried past the River Goazacoalco by boisterous winds, and entered Tonalá to careen and repair a leaky vessel.[7] Again the men blasphemed and held the commander in derision because he would not settle. After several failures in starting they continued the voyage, encountered bad weather, touched at Deseado for water, engaged in a parting fight with the natives of Champoton, sailed again, and the fifth reached San Lázaro, where they were led into ambush while searching for water, and attacked. After helping themselves to maize they embarked, followed the shore past Rio de Lagartos, the Comi of the natives, whence they sailed for Cuba, and arrived at Matanzas about the first of November.[8]

[6] In questo giorno sul tardi vedessemo miracolo ben grande el qual fu che apparve una stella incima la nave dapoi el tramontar del sole et partisse sempre buttando razi fino che se pose sopra quel vilagio over populo grande et lasso uno razo ne laiere che duro piu de tre hore grande et anchora vedessimo altri signal ben chiari dove comprendessemo che dio volea per suo servitio populassemo la dicta terra. *Itinerario*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 302.

[7] Bernal Diaz claims to have planted here the first orange-seeds sown in New Spain. It was at the base of a temple, on whose summit he had enjoyed a refreshing sleep, above the clouds of mosquitoes, and through gratitude he sowed these seed, which he had brought from Cuba. He tells, likewise, of obtaining here by barter 4,000 pesos, which, with the 16,000 pesos Alvarado carried home, made 20,000 pesos secured during the voyage. Among the treasures were some copper hatchets, which the Spaniards took to be an inferior kind of gold. Las Casas gives a detailed description of the treasures obtained by this expedition, among which was an emerald worth 2,000 ducats, from the mainland opposite Isla de Sacrificios.

[8] This, following Oviedo, who in 1523 visited Velazquez, and was told

When Grijalva cast anchor in the bay of Matanzas his heart beat high with promise. He had returned successful from a brilliant discovery, in which had begun that pronounced mastery of life which is the dream of every chivalrous mind. There had been nothing in the least irrational in his policy, or fickle or factious in his conduct. He had used diligence and discretion, had been true to his companions, and faithful to his king and to his chief. Surely his uncle would praise him, his governor would reward him, and his king would intrust him with new commissions. So he deserved; so he had every reason to expect, and hence it was with pride and pleasure that he once more set foot on Isla Fernandina.

But, unfortunately, this most virtuous cavalier was now destined to reap the too common reward of honest service in the cause of a vicious master. Scarcely had Grijalva landed, when a letter from the governor was placed in his hand, ordering him to repair with his ships at once to Santiago, and at the same time to notify his soldiers that opportunity would be quickly given all who desired to embark in a fresh adventure to New Spain, and that meanwhile they might rest themselves at the governor's farms in that vicinity. Then, too, he first learned how Velazquez, ever fickle and distrustful as are all timid and unscrupulous men, becoming nervous concerning the fleet, had sent Cristóbal de Olid in a small vessel with seven soldiers to search and report; and that on reaching the coast of Yucatan a storm had obliged the explorer to part with his anchor and return to Cuba.[9] Before the return of Olid, Alvarado had

these things. Other authors give widely different accounts of Grijalva's return, most of them taking him at once from Tonalá to Matanzas, but allowing forty days for the voyage. Oviedo dates Grijalva's arrival at the River Goazacoalco July 9; at Deseado, August 17; at Champoton, September 1; San Lázaro, September 5, and Matanzas, October 8, which is too early, according to the date of Cortés' instructions.

[9] Oviedo says that Olid went to Cozumel and took possession of the island, thinking he had discovered it; then coasting north and westward to a port,

arrived with the gold and good tidings from the armada, which gave the governor unbounded joy. Grijalva had yet to learn, however, how Alvarado, not forgetting the censure bestowed on him for disobedience, had not failed to color the conduct of his commander to suit his own ends. Grijalva's repeated refusals to colonize were paraded as the gross mistakes of a stubborn and spiritless man; the coolness and bravery displayed at Champoton were made to appear as reckless imprudence; and as the governor thought of the danger to which his adventure had there been subjected, he became alarmed. "Had I lost all," he muttered, "it would have been a just penalty for sending such a fool." And now both Dávila and Montejo poured fresh poison into the ear of the governor respecting his nephew, in revenge for similar fancied injuries; so that when Grijalva reported himself to Velazquez at Santiago, he was told to go his way, since the governor had no further use for him.

Indeed, this line of action had been for some time determined on. Immediately upon the arrival of Alvarado, a new expedition had been planned, in which Grijalva was not to participate. The latter was hurt, almost to death. He had conferred a great benefit on this Tiberius of an uncle; but as affection is heightened by the conferring of benefits, so it is often lessened by the acceptance of them. Not long after, Juan de Salcedo was sent to Santo Domingo for permission to colonize New Spain, and Benito Martin, chaplain and man of business, was despatched to Spain[10] with a full account of the dis-

Laguna de Términos, and finding no traces of Grijalva, and having lost his anchors, he returned to Matanzas eight days before Grijalva; but in this statement he is sustained neither by his contemporaries nor by his own collateral statements. Velazquez' instructions to Cortés are dated the 23d of October, at which time neither Olid nor Grijalva had returned, since Cortés is told to search for them; both arrived, however, before he sailed.

[10] It was in May, 1519, according to Oviedo, that Benito Martin—some call him Martinez—sailed for Spain, Grijalva having arrived at Santiago late in the October previous. By reference to a Velazquez memorial, in iv. 233–4, *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, we find that before this, upon the strength of Cordoba's dis-

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governor of Cuba, to the prej
See *Carta del Ayunt. de Vera*
further a *Memorial del negocio*
and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, x. 80-
year and a half, and Olid thre
que dió el adelantado Diego Vel
226–46, the little boat of Olid

the unscrupulous positiveness inseparable here from permanent success. He was resolute in overcoming difficulties, and he was strong and shrewd enough in the prosecution of any high enterprise, particularly so long as fortune favored him; but he was no match for the subtle-minded of his own nation, who overwhelmed him in their show of learning, backed by imposing forms. All contemporary writers speak well of him; likewise all the chroniclers, except Gomara, who permits chivalry no place save in his pet and patron, Cortés. The soldier Bernal Diaz pronounces him a most worthy officer. The historians Oviedo and Herrera call him a comely man, thoroughly loyal, and never backward at fighting. Yet we are told that some censured him, while others cursed him outright for his conscientiousness, because he did not break orders and seize opportunity. So ready were they to engage in the fallacious argument that it was right to do wrong if good might come of it. To disobey Velazquez, they said, was to break no divine law; forgetting that the governor derived his authority from the king, and the king from the Almighty. Of a truth, when force alone is the standard of right, then honesty is not the best policy. For a time he carried himself with a brave front, conscious of his integrity, yet we may say he was laid low forever by the blow misfortune here gave him.[11] Meanwhile patience, good gov-

[11] Las Casas saw him at Santo Domingo in 1523. He was reduced to penury. Proceeding thence to Panamá, he was sent by Pedrarias to Nicaragua, where he was killed. So perished the best and morally bravest of cavaliers, while unscrupulous tricksters flourished. Prior to his departure from Cuba, however, and notwithstanding the vile treatment of the governor, at Velazquez' request, Grijalva wrote a narrative of his expedition, which was lost by Oviedo in its transmission to the king. It is embodied, however, in substance, in *Oviedo*, i. 502–37. One of the most original and complete accounts of Grijalva's expedition extant is that by the priest Juan Diaz, *Itinerario de Larmata del Re Catholico in India verso la Isola de Iuchathan del anno M. D. XVIII, alla qual fu Presidente & Capitan Generale Ioan de Grisalva; el qual e facto per el capellano maggior de dicta Armata a sua Altezza*, published in Italian, at Venice, in 1520, in French by Ternaux-Compans, in 1838, the former being copied and quoted in manuscript by Prescott. The issue at Venice was as the second part of the *Itinerario de Lvdovico de varthema Bolognese nello Egitto, nella Soria*, etc., and was there begun, *Qui comincia lo*

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in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col.*
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full, and graphic statement o
lantado Diego Velazquez á Her
xii. 226–51, also important, as
Hist. Ind., iv. 16, 421–4, thou
only in his facts, but in hi
cap. iii., any stronger. *Clavig*
nandi Cortesii, in *Icazbalceta*,
21, are mediocre; and *Herre*
and very valuable. Cogolluc
but a far better one is Torq
i. 224–9, is meagre and imp
sound than those of Robertson
ficial of the modern narratives
Méj., ii. 236–52. Those by Mo
court's *Hist. Yuc.*, 9–18, are v
letters to Charles V., referrin
recently discovered island, des
inhabitants,' was printed at M
der title beginning *Ein auszug*
Carbajal Espinosa, *Hist. Mex.*
edition of Prescott, i. 132 and
lazquez, Córdoba, and Grijalva
Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ., iv
stand-point. Alaman, in his *D*
jalva's voyages. Among the
special significance are those f
grimes, v. 858; *Oveido, Somma*
Geog., *Boletin*, iii. 242–3; *Robe*
471–9; *World Displayed*, i. 16
aller Reisebesch., xiii. 254–64;
70–1, and iii. 416–53; *Klemm, A*
Togt, 3–18, and 35–89, in *Ac*
Weereld, 72–5; *Gottfried, Reysen*
Hist. U. S., i. 8–9; *Lardner's*
3–9; *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*,
53–4; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 81–
Guat., 6; *Holmes' An. Am.*, i. 3
de la Am., ii. 7–19; *Dalton's C*
27–8; *Snowden's Am.*, 77–9; *Ra*
MS., 112–13; *Gordon's Hist. A*
son's Conq. Mex., 291; *Castella*
tyr, dec. iv., cap. i.–v., *Dutcy*,
Gregory's Hist. Mex., 19–20; *M*
18; *Colton's Jour. Geog.*, No. v
glave, Résumé, 41–6; *March y*
von dem Neuen Hisp., pt. ii. 2

Before the return of Grijalva, interest in the new expedition had already raised itself into a whirl of excitement; and as volunteers pressed forward, the captaincy became an apple of discord among aspirants. Chief among these were Vasco Porcallo a near relative of the count of Feria, Antonio Velazquez,[12] and Bernardino Velazquez, the last two kinsmen of the governor. Another was Baltasar Bermudez,[13] from Velazquez' own town, and his intimate friend. None of these suited. Then followed for the governor nights of troubled dreams and days of irritable indecision. It was a peculiar personage Velazquez wanted. He must be, in Mexico, courageous, wise, and prudent; in Cuba, obedient, teachable. He must be able to command men, to brave the proudest barbarian, and so fired by enthusiasm in the field as cheerfully to endure hardships and risk life; his work successfully accomplished, he must return humbly to Santiago, and lay his trophies at the feet of his master. Grijalva was most nearly such a man; but he lacked that subtle second sense which should tell him when it was the governor's pleasure to have his orders disobeyed. Porcallo was competent, but Velazquez was afraid of him. He was scarcely farther from the throne than himself; and in reporting any important conquest to the king would prove the greater of the two. The relatives present were worse, if anything, than Grijalva; besides, they had no means, and to this position the successful aspirant must bring money as well as courage and discretion. Bermudez might be eligible, but for his services, in braving the dangers, and bringing the results of the expedition to Velazquez, he had the

Mex., 77–8; *Touron, Hist. Gen. Am.*, iii. 58–78; *Bussierre, l'Empire Mex.*, 193–9; *Sandoval, Hist. Carlos V.*, i. 161–2; *Cortés, Hist. Mex.*, 30–110; *Campe, Hist. Descub. Am.*, ii. 7–19; *Cortés, Aven. y Conq.*, 12–13; *Stephens' Incid. of Travel in Yuc.*, ii. 366–9; *Drake's Voy.*, 161–3; *Hart's Tabasco*, 4–5; *La Cruz*, v. 541–4; *Nouvelles An. des Voy.*, xcvii. 30–1, and clxiv. 101; and *Manzi, Conq. di Mess.*, 1–3.

[12] Called Borrego, says Torquemada, i. 361. Bernal Diaz gives Borrego as the second surname.

[13] Bernal Diaz says Augustin Bermudez.

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[14] Las Casas regarded
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wise 'Burgalés' and 'homb

[15] 'Que partirian,' says
la ganancia del oro, y plat
and also, growls Las Casas
but rumor—what Cortés co
ject to division, beside wha

whatsoever his strength permitted, it was right for him to do. He was a sort of Mephistopheles, decked in manners and guided by knowledge. Besides the world, he knew books, and how to make somewhat of them. Earnestly devoted to the service of the church, many of his acts yet met with its most unqualified condemnation. Possessed of vehement aspirations, his ambition was of the aggressive kind; not like that of Velazquez, mercenary and timid. Like Tigellinus Sophonius, it was to his pleasing person and unscrupulous character that the alcalde owed his rise from poverty and obscurity; and now, like Phaethon, if for one day he might drive the governor's sun-chariot across the heavens, it would be his own fault if he were not a made man. This much at this time we may say of Hernan[16] Cortés, for such was the alcalde's name; which is more than he could say for himself, not knowing himself as we know him, and more than his associates could say of him. Hereafter as his character develops we shall become further acquainted with him. It is as difficult to detect the full-grown plant in a seed as in a stone, and yet the seed will become a great tree, while the stone remains a stone.

And so, with the aid of his loving friends Duero and Láres, whose deft advice worked successfully on the plastic mind of Velazquez, and because he possessed some money and many friends, as well as courage and wisdom, the alcalde of Santiago was proclaimed captain-general of the expedition.[17] And

[16] Hernan, Hernando, Fernan, Fernando, Ferdinando. The names are one. With no special preference, I employ the first, used by the best writers. Among the early authorities, Solis, the Spanish translator of *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, and many others, write Hernan; Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones Ilvstres*, Fernan; Bernal Diaz and Oviedo, Hernando; Gomara, Fernando. In accordance with the Spanish usage of adding the mother's surname, he is sometimes, though rarely, called Cortés y Pizarro. For portrait and signature I refer the reader to *Alaman, Disert.*, i. app. i. 15–16; portrait as an old man; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 6–8; *Prescott's Mex.*, iii. 1; *Id.*, (ed. Mex., 1846, iii. 210–11); *Armin Alte Mex.*, 82, plate from the painting in the Concepcion Hospital at Mexico; *March y Labores, Marina Española*, i. 466.

[17] In making out the commission Duero stretched every point in favor of his friend, naming him captain-general of lands discovered and to be dis-

CHAPTER IV.

THE HERO OF THE CONQUEST.

BIRTHPLACE OF HERNAN CORTÉS—HIS COMING COMPENSATORY FOR THE DEVIL-SENT LUTHER—PARENTAGE—HERNAN A SICKLY CHILD—SAINT PETER HIS PATRON—HE IS SENT TO SALAMANCA—RETURNS HOME—THINKS OF CÓRDOBA AND ITALY—AND OF OVANDO AND THE INDIES—CHOOSES THE LATTER—NARROW ESCAPE DURING A LOVE INTRIGUE—OVANDO SAILS WITHOUT HIM—CORTÉS GOES TO VALENCIA—IS THERE ILL—RETURNS HOME—FINALLY SAILS FOR THE INDIES—HIS RECEPTION AT SANTO DOMINGO—HE FIGHTS INDIANS UNDER VELAZQUEZ, AND IS GIVEN AN ENCOMIENDA—GOES TO CUBA WITH VELAZQUEZ—MAKES LOVE TO CATALINA SUAREZ—BUT DECLINES TO MARRY—VELAZQUEZ INSISTS—CORTÉS REBELS—SEIZURES, IMPRISONMENTS, ESCAPES, AND RECONCILIATION.

LET us now look into the life of this Cuban magistrate, so suddenly raised to prominence.

Medellin, a small town of Estremadura, Spain, was the birthplace of Hernan Cortés, and 1485 the year in which he was born—miraculously born, as Mendieta and others believe, and perhaps by way of compensation for the appearing about this time of Martin Luther.[1] The shade of Montezuma, peradventure,

[1] Indeed, to make the miracle perfect in all its details, a little warping of the facts is perhaps allowable. So when the zealous chroniclers bring into the world the same year, the same day, even the self-same hour, these two great champions for the souls of men, we should not be too critical, though in truth there were two years difference in their ages. 'Y así, no carece de misterio que el mismo año que Lutero nació en Islebio,' that is to say Eisleben, 'villa de Sajonia, nació Hernando Cortés en Medellin, villa de España; aquel para turbar el mundo y meter debajo de la bandera del demonio a muchos de los fieles que de padres y abuelos y muchos tiempos atras eran católicos, y este para traer al gremio de la Iglesia infinita multitud de gentes que por años sin cuento habian estado debajo del poder de Satanás envueltos en vicios y ciegos con la idolatría.' *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 174–5. Pizarro y Orellana will not be outdone by any one in zeal or mendacity. 'Nació este Ilustre Varon el dia mismo que aquella bestia infernal, el Perfido Heresiarca Lutero, salió al mundo.' *Varones Ilustres*, 66. Bernal Diaz is the first authority on the question of age. 'En el año que passamos con Cortés dende Cuba,' he writes

might deny that his was the advent of a new Messiah, though the deluded monarch, at the first, sorrowfully hailed him as such. The father, Martin Cortés y Monroy, was of that poor but prolific class who filled Spain toward the close of the Moorish wars, and who, although nothing in particular, were nevertheless permitted to call themselves hidalgos, sons of something. Some give him the title of escudero, others place him still higher in the scale of fighting men. The mother, Catalina Pizarro y Altamirano, likewise, with poverty, claimed noble blood.[2]

Hernan was a sickly child, and probably would have died had not his good nurse, María de Estévan,

Hist. Verdad., 238, 'a la Nueva España, fue el de quinientos y diez y nueue años, y entonces solia dezir estando en conversacion de todos nosotros los compañeros que con él passamos, que auia treynta y quatro años, y veynte y ocho que auian passado hasta que murio, que son sesenta y dos años.' While agreeing with Bernal Diaz in the date of Cortés' death, December 2, 1547, Gomara says he was then sixty-three. From his false premise Mendieta elaborates a comparison between Luther and Cortés, dwelling with pious pathos on the holocaust of human victims offered up at the consecration of the great Aztec temple at Mexico, which deed, he coolly states, was committed on the day Cortés was born. For the facts, see *Bancroft's Native Races*, v. 5, 439–40. Without taking the trouble to test Mendieta's statement, Torquemada, i. 340–1, carries the miraculous still further. Following the heaven-descended Cortés in his piratical raid on Mexico, he sees the hand of God in the finding of Aguilar, who, like Aaron, was to be the mouthpiece of his chief, in the alliances with native states, and in the great victories and hair-breadth escapes of the conqueror, fighting under the banner of the cross.

[2] According to the *Testimonio de Hidalguia de Cortés*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, iv. 238–9, the names of the mother's parents were Diego Altamirano and Leonor Sanchez Pizarro, which would reverse her surnames, and make the son a Cortés y Altamirano. But Gomara, *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, and other authorities, do not accept this form. This important document, however, the *Testimonio*, establishes the fact that both parents were hidalgos, 'gozando de los oficios que gozan los hijosdalgo en ... Medellin.' Some historians strain themselves to make Cortés the scion of a Roman family, or even of a king of Lombardy and Tuscany, whose descendants entered Spain during Gothic rule. Those who have tastes in that direction may consult *Siculus, Viris Illust.*, 141; *Anales de Aragon*, iii. xiv.; *Pizarro y Orellana, Varones Ilustres*, 67. Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 11, who claimed acquaintance with the family, slurs their pretensions to high origin. 'Ambos hijosdalgo sin raça' is the qualification in *Sandoval, Hist. Carlos V.*, i. 160. No doubt the parents of Cortés were respectable and amiable people, but to attempt to make of them other than they were is folly. 'Catharinia namque probitate, pudicitiâ et in conjugem amore, nulli ætatis suae feminae cessit.' *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 310–11. This document refers to Martin Cortés as 'levis armaturae equitum quinquaginta dux fuerit,' on which evidence Prescott makes the man a captain when he is only a lieutenant, which yet more clearly appears by Gomara, who states, *Hist. Mex.*, 4, that he was a 'teniente de vna compañia de Ginetes.'

secured in his behalf Saint Peter, thenceforth his patron.[3] With his mother's milk he drank courage[4] and intelligence, and he was schooled in the virtues and the vices of the day. In his youth he was headstrong, but chivalrous, and he revelled in his superiority over other boys. The brain-ferment, chronic throughout his life, set in at an early day. He was keenly sensitive to disgrace. As he developed somewhat of archness and duplicity, he was deemed best fitted for the profession of the law. At the age of fourteen, accordingly, with such preparation as the slender means of the father would allow, he was sent to Salamanca, whose university, though past the zenith of its fame, was still the leading seat of learning for conservative Spain. Two years of restraint and intellectual drudgery, during which time he lived with his father's brother-in-law, Nuñez de Valera, sufficed to send him home surfeited with learning, to the great disappointment of his family.[5] A frolicsome and somewhat turbulent disposition, more marked since his college career than previously, made his return all the more unwelcome. Not that his studies,

[3] The nurse was a 'vezina de Oliua,' and her method of choosing a patron was characteristic of the times. 'La deuocion fue echar en suertes los doze apostoles, y darle por auogado el postrero q̃ ssliesse, y salio san Pedro. En cuyo nõbre se dixeron ciertas missas y oraciones, con las quales plugo a Dios q̃ sanasse.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 4.

[4] And Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones Ilustres*, 66–69, indulges in a lengthy dissertation upon the effect of mothers' milk on heroes. 'Criole a sus pechos Doña Catalina Pizarro su madre: y a la generosidad deste lacticinio atribuye Marineo e Siculo su gran valor, y virtud.'

[5] Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones Ilustres*, 67, states that he was supported at college by Monroy and Rodriguez. It is possible that his proud spirit chafed under this dependence, or that he felt too deeply his position as a poor student among the wealthy youth there congregated; or that this aid was withdrawn owing to the turbulent character here developed by the young man. These views find support in *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 4: 'Boluiose a Medellin, harto o arrepentido de estudiar, o quiça falto de dineros.' While admitting the want both of money and inclination for study, Torquemada, i. 345, states that a quartan fever came on as he was preparing for the study of law, and was the chief cause of his leaving the college. Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 11, gives him the honors of a bachiller, and as having studied law, both of which statements are unlikely, considering his short course. 'Aprendiendo gramática' implies a course of study in Latin and Greek, as well as rhetoric, which it required three years to complete. *Plan de Estudios de la Universidad de Salamanca*, quoted by Folsom, in *Cortés' Despatches*, 10. According to Peralta, 'asento con un escribano, ... y aprendió á escrebir,' etc. in Valladolid. *Not. Hist.*, 56.

despite his aversion to them, had been wholly neglected; he could boast a smatter of Latin, which indeed proved of advantage afterward, giving him influence over many of those with whom he associated. He had also acquired some knowledge of rhetoric, as is manifest in his letters and occasional verses.[6] At present, however, his intellectual talents were employed only in scribbling rhymes in aid of amorous intrigues, which were now his chief pursuit. Hence when arms possessed his fancy the parents did not repine, but were only too glad for him to enter service, as he seemed inclined, under the Gran Capitan, who was just then alluring to his standard the chivalry of Spain by brilliant achievements in Italy. There was, however, the glitter of gold in the Indies, and the appointment of Nicolás de Ovando,[7] as governor, turned the youth's vacillating mind in that direction.

Cortés had concluded to accompany the new governor, when one night, just before the sailing of the fleet, an accident intervened. While engaged in one of his intrigues he had occasion to climb a courtyard wall to gain the lady's apartment. The wall crumbling beneath his weight threw him to the ground, and the noise brought to the door of an adjoining house a blustering Benedick, who, perceiving the situation of the gallant, and suspecting his own newly made wife, drew the sword with bloody intent. At the prayer of the suspected wife's mother, however, the husband suspended vengeance. Before the scapegrace recovered from a fever brought on by the bruises received in this fall, the fleet of Ovando had sailed.

[6] Verses which were tolerably good, and even procured him some fame. *Anales*, 220. 'Quando hablaua con Letrados, y hombres Latinos, respondia á lo que le dezian en Latin.' Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 238. The combined qualities of scholar and general have called up a not inappropriate comparison between Cortés and Cæsar. See *Helps' Span. Conq.*, and other authorities.

[7] Some claim him for a relative of Cortés. See *Pizarro y Orellana, Varones Ilvstres*, 70; *Solis, Hist. Mex.*, i. 45; *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 312.

After this, Cortés thought again of Italy, and went to Valencia to place himself under Córdoba, but once more illness overtook him, this time accompanied by destitution, and he returned to Medellin somewhat sobered.[8] Thus another year was idled away; but notwithstanding his follies, the youthful cavalier, who was now nineteen, displayed many fine qualities. As he approached manhood his health improved, and form and features became more pleasing. Though proud in his bearing, and of quick perceptions, and high-spirited in temper, he sought to school his tongue, and to practise discretion in the use of his sword. Native to him were generosity and amiability. The qualities of his heart were noble; the vices were those of his time and station. Yet he lacked the moral fibre which should be interwoven with the good impulses of every rich, sensitive nature, and this want could not be made up by repeating prayers and singing psalms, wherein Gomara describes him as efficient.

The pinching economy to which Cortés was reduced made his present frequent visions of the Indies appear only the brighter; and when, in 1504, a fleet of five ships was announced to sail for Española, he determined to delay no longer. With little else than his father's blessing he proceeded to Seville, and took passage with Alonso Quintero, master of one of the vessels, who fancied himself shrewder than other men, and shrewder than he was. Thinking to overreach his brother captains in whose company he sailed, and to secure at Española the first market for his merchandise, he stole forth one night from the Canary Isles, where the squadron had touched for supplies. A gale dismasted his vessel on reaching the open sea, and sent him back to port. The others agreed to await his repairs, which generosity Quintero repaid by seeking a second time to take advantage of them by going

[8] 'Anduvo se a la flor del berro, aun q̃ no sin trabajos y necessidades cerca de vn año.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 5. 'Squandered his means at Valencia with bad companions,' is the term used in *Sandoval, Hist. Carlos*, i. 161.

before, and his treachery was a second time punished by the winds, aided, indeed, by the pilot, who was at enmity with the captain, and who threw the ship from her course during the night so that the reckoning was lost. The usual sufferings are related; and, in answer to prayer, we are told of a miraculous interposition. On Good Friday, when all hope had been abandoned, there was seen poised above the ship a dove, which presently dropped down and rested on the mast.[9] However this might have been, we are credibly informed that the wind subsided and the ship proceeded on her voyage. Finally, on reaching his destination, Quintero found the other ships snugly riding at anchor, their cargoes having been profitably disposed of several days before.

The governor being absent, his secretary, Medina, received Cortés kindly, and pointed him the common highway to fortune. "Register yourself a citizen," he said. "Promise not to leave the island for five years, and you shall have lands and Indians; after the expiration of your time you may go where you choose." Cortés answered: "I want gold, not work; and neither in this island nor in any other place will I promise to remain so long." He thought better of it, however, and on the return of Ovando he presented himself, and was induced to settle. Not long after an Indian revolt called Diego Velazquez, lieutenant of Ovando, into the field, and Cortés hastened to join the expedition. The coolness and ability displayed in this short campaign won for him the admiration and esteem alike of chief and comrades.[10] His reward was an encomienda of Indians in the Daiguao country, together with the notaryship of the new town of Azua. For the next six years he was occupied in husbandry and

[9] Torquemada, i. 346, sees in the bird a messenger from God to conduct safely his chosen instrument for converting the natives of the New World. Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones Ilvstres*, 69–70, recognizes the Holy Ghost, who assumed this form, and comments on similar appearances elsewhere. How goodly a thing is faith!

[10] He assisted in the pacification of Higne, Bauruco, Daiguao, Iutagna, Jaraguá, and Amguayagua. *Cortés, Memorial*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, iv. 220.

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favors was great.

[11] The author of *De Re*
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i. 318–19.

[12] 'Socium et ministru
Ferdinandi Cortesii, in *Ica*
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coincide with the above.
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knowledge of Latin. *Hist.*
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of course be inferior to th
if the treasurer was as i
rather as deputy.

[13] 'Era muy resabid
mostraba saber tanto, ni
cosas árduas.'

punishment many gallantries, but he had not been settled long in Cuba before he found a more serious case upon his hands.

Among those who had settled in Cuba was a family from Granada, Suarez by name, consisting of a widow, her son Juan, and three daughters, remarkable for their beauty. They had come with the vireyna María de Toledo, and Gomara is so ungallant as to say that their object was to secure rich husbands.[14] Scores of hearts are laid at their feet, but the marriage obligation is evaded by the more promising men of the colony, for the Suarez family has a somewhat clouded reputation. In one of them Velazquez takes a tender interest; some say he marries her.[15] Cortés fancies another; Catalina is her name; he trifles with her affections, obtains her favors, promises her marriage, and then seeks to evade the issue. The brother petitions the virtuous governor, who cannot see the sister of his love thus wronged. Velazquez orders Cortés to marry Catalina. The cavalier refuses. Enmity arises between the two men, and without difficulty Cortés is persuaded by certain disaffected to join a cabal against the governor. Nocturnal meetings are held at the house of Cortés; and when it is determined to lay their fancied grievances before the authorities at Santo

[14] The deceased head of the family bore the name of Diego Suarez Pacheco, the mother that of María de Marcaida, also wrongly written Mercaida. The son, Juan Suarez, the partner of Cortés in the Cuban encomienda, afterward settled in Mexico. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 12–13. See also Proceso de Marcayda, in *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 333. Peralta, the son of Juan, gives the family a genealogy of high order. *Not. Hist.*, 57. 'Suarez....gente pobre.' *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 13. 'Doña Catalina Suarez Pacheco (the daughter), doncella noble y recatada.' Solis, *Hist. Mex.*, i. 46, and Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones Ilvstres*, 70, also write Suarez, Herrera and Gomara, Xuarez. The latter says three or four daughters, *Hist. Mex.*, 7, but it seems that there were four children in all. Those who write the more common form of Suarez are more explicit, and deserve at least equal credit with Gomara.

[15] Velazquez was married not long after his arrival in Cuba to the daughter of Contador Cuéllar. The bride died within the same week. *Herrera*, dec. i. lib. ix. cap. ix. 'Velazquez fauorecia la por amor de otra su hermana, q̃ tenia ruin fama, y aun el era demasiado mugeril.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 7. Delaporte, *Reisen*, x. 141–2, assumes that Cortés won the love of her whom Velazquez wished to possess; while Gordon, *Anc. Mex.*, ii. 32, supposes that the bride had been the object of Velazquez' gallantry; hence the trouble. Folsom, on the other hand, marries one of the Suarez sisters to Velazquez, and calls him the brother-in-law of Cortés. *Cortés, Despatches*, 9, 11–12.

Domingo, Cortés is chosen bearer of the complaints.[16] As he is about to embark on his perilous mission, to traverse in an open boat eighteen leagues of open ocean, the governor hears of it, seizes the envoy, and sends him in chains to the fortress. His partisans are likewise imprisoned, and active in preferring charges against them are Bermudez, the two Velazquez, Villegas, and Juan Suarez. Friends intercede and prevent immediate hanging.[17] Cortés resolves on escape. With some difficulty he extricates himself from his fetters, seizes the sword of the sleeping guard, forces the window, and dropping to the ground takes refuge in the church.[18] Velazquez, enraged at the escape, yet not daring to violate the privilege of sanctuary, resorts to artifice. Introducing some soldiers into the chapel through a small door in the rear, the blushing Catalina is stationed at a distance before the sacred edifice as a decoy. The lover sees her; the dear girl wishes to speak with him, but her maidenly modesty forbids her nearer approach. Cortés rushes forward to clasp her in his arms, only to be seized from behind, and placed under a strong guard in the hold of a vessel bound for Española, where, in company with the other conspirators, he is to undergo trial.[19]

[16] Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 7, insists that Velazquez had no motive for anger except the refusal of Cortés to marry. The meeting of conspirators at his house gave plausibility to the charges of his enemies. By others it is even stated that at these meetings Cortés defended the governor against the charges of the conspirators and overruled their plots. *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 325–6. The preponderance of evidence, however, is against this supposition.

[17] 'Estando para se embarcar en una canoa de indios con sus papeles, fué Diego Velazquez avisado y hózolo prender y quísola ahorcar.' *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 11. He was cast in the fort prison, lest the army should proclaim him general. 'Timebat ne si quis,' etc. *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 325 and 326–7.

[18] In *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 326–7, it is related that Cortés broke the ropes holding him by means of a stick, and filed the padlock of the chains. Seizing a bludgeon he advanced on the sleeping jailer, resolved to break his head if he moved. But Cristóbal de Lagos either slept or pretended not to hear the noise as Cortés seized the sword and shield at his head. Swinging open a small window, Cortés slid down and hurried to the sanctuary, giving on the way a word of cheer and advice to the conspirators who were held within the prison.

[19] 'Cortés....tuuo por cierto q̄ lo embiariâ a santo Domingo o a España.'

Sympathy for Cortés increases with his misfortunes, and aid is furnished for a second escape. The shackles are removed, and exchanging clothes with an attendant, he mounts the upper deck,[20] strolls carelessly about watching his opportunity until he gains the skiff; then cutting loose the boat of another vessel near by, to prevent pursuit, he pulls lustily toward Baracoa. The boat becomes unmanageable, he plunges into the water, swims ashore, and once more gains the sanctuary.[21]

Cortés was sensible enough now to perceive that he had involved himself more deeply than a trifling love affair would justify, and that possibly he might best rid himself of the charming Catalina by marrying her. Once determined on this course, he called to him the brother, Juan Suarez, and informed him of his doleful resolve. Meanwhile the constant importunities of powerful friends, and the need of Cortés' services in an Indian outbreak, induced Velazquez to make overtures of reconciliation; but Cortés met him

Gomara, Hist. Mex., 7. There would have been no reasons for his fears on this score, if he possessed papers implicating Velazquez, as Gomara states. Another version is that the alcaldes imposed a heavy sentence on Cortés, after his capture, and that Velazquez, on being appealed to by Duero and others, was noble-minded enough to grant a pardon. He discharged him from his service, however, and had him placed on board a ship for Española. *Torquemada*, i. 348. Herrera says that Catalina lived near the church, and while Cortés was making love to her an alguacil named Juan Escudero, whom Cortés afterward hanged in Mexico, came up behind him and pinioned his arms, while the soldiers rushed to his assistance. Dec. i. lib. ix. cap. ix.; *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 63, etc. *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 11; *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta*, i. 327–8, give minutely the mode of capture.

[20] Broke the pump and crawled through, 'Organum pneumaticum,' etc. *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 329.

[21] The current of the Macaguanigua River did not allow him to enter it, and elsewhere the breakers would upset the boat. Stripping himself, he tied to his head certain documents against Velazquez, held by him as notary of the ayuntamiento and clerk of the treasurer, and thereupon swam ashore. He entered his house, consulted with Juan Suarez, and reëntered the temple, armed. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 7. *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta*, vi. 329–30, refers to a friend of Cortés chained in the same ship's hold, and states that Cortés rowed ashore. On the way to the house of Suarez he narrowly escapes a patrol. Having secured arms, he proceeds to cheer his captive partisans, and then enters the sanctuary. At dawn the captain of the vessel from which Cortés escaped comes also to the temple, to secure himself against Velazquez' wrath, no doubt, but is refused admission into the sacristy by his fellow-refugee, who suspects the man, and fears that the provisions may not outlast the siege. In *Herrera*, dec. i. lib. ix. cap. viii., Cortés drifts about on a log and is finally cast ashore.

in a haughty spirit, and surrounding the church with a guard he went his way to the wars. Notwithstanding the cavalier had made up his mind to drink the marriage-draught, he would none of the governor in it; or if he must, the reconciliation should be accomplished after his own fashion. No sooner had the governor departed than Cortés directed Juan Suarez, with lance and cross-bow, to await him at a certain place. Escaping the guard during the night, Cortés joined Suarez, and proceeded to the plantation where Velazquez was quartered. The governor, who was engaged in looking over some books of accounts, was not a little startled when Cortés knocked at the open door and entered. "Is it murder the man means with arms in his hands, and at this hour?" was his thought, as he gave the visitor a nervous welcome. "Command that no one come near me!" exclaimed Cortés, "else I will put this pike through him. And now, if my excellent and brave captain, Señor Velazquez, has aught against me, let him speak. I am here to answer." So sweet was the mutual forgiveness that followed, that in the morning the two gentlemen were found occupying the same bed.[22] Not long after Cortés

[22] So the story was current at the time, and I doubt not it contains some degree of truth, notwithstanding Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 11–12, scouts it as a pure fabrication. He knew both men; Velazquez as a proud chief, exacting the deepest reverence from those around him, and making them tremble at his frown; while Cortés was in those days so lowly and humble as to be glad to curry favor with the meanest servants of the governor. The good bishop is evidently prejudiced. In *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 332–4, the facts are a little elaborated and contradictory, as usual. Cortés escapes the guard round the church, and reaches the farm. 'Halloh, señores!' he shouts, 'Cortés is at the door, and salutes Señor Velazquez, his excellent and gallant captain.' Velazquez is astonished, yet pleased, at the arrival of one whom he always had regarded as a friend and beloved brother. He orders supper and bed to be prepared; but Cortés insists that none shall approach, or he will lance them. He demands to know what complaints there are against him. He abhors the suspicion of being a traitor, and will clear himself. 'Receive me,' he concludes, 'in your favor with the same good faith that I return to it.' 'Now I believe,' answers Velazquez, 'that you regard as highly my name and fame as your own loyalty.' They shake hands, and Cortés now enters the house to fully explain the misunderstanding. After supper they retire to one bed. In the morning the messenger, Diego Orellana, arrives to announce Cortés' flight, and finds them lying side by side. Cortés will not proceed with the expedition just then; but after arranging his affairs he joins, to the delight of the general, who follows his advice implicitly, as he had done

married Catalina, and jointly with his brother-in-law received an encomienda of Manicarao Indians. Like a brave cavalier he put the best face possible on the inevitable, and vowed he was as pleased with his bride as if she had been a duchess.[23] Velazquez stood godfather to a child born to them, and thenceforth addressed Cortés by the intimate term compadre,[24] investing him afterward with the staff of alcalde at Santiago de Cuba.[25] For a time, however, he remained at Baracoa, where the preceding events occurred, and beside mining he was one of the first upon the island to engage in stock raising. Thus by diligence and judicious investments he was enabled to rise from poverty, as well as from profligacy, and to stand ready to embrace the golden opportunity fortune was now about to offer him.

The soft white snow gently dropped upon the mountain top is forged by alternate thawings and freezings into hard, rasping glaciers.

in former campaigns. After their victorious return Cortés enjoys greater honors than ever. Peralta, who also gives the story at length, states that Cortés surprised Velazquez asleep. At the request of the governor he gave himself up to the jailer in order to be formally released. *Nat. Hist.*, 58–62. Still Peralta is a little confused.

[23] She was received by Cortés in Mexico, after the conquest, with great distinction; but died in about three months after her arrival.

[24] Las Casas, who, as usual, will have a fling at Cortés, writes: 'Tuvo Cortés un hijo ó hija, no sé si en su mujer, y suplicó á Diego Velazquez que tuviese por bien de se lo sacar de la pila en el baptismo y ser su compadre, lo que Diego Velazquez aceptó, por honralle.' *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 13. Among Cortés' children a natural daughter by a Cuban Indian is mentioned, *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 238, but it is not likely that Cortés would ask the governor to stand godfather to a natural child. The same writer makes Velazquez the groomsman or sponsor at the marriage. 'Fue su padrino, quando Cortés se velò con Doña Catalina;' *ib.*, 13; *Vetancovrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 109. Although compadre is not unfrequently used as a mere term of friendship, it is not likely to have been applied by a marriage padrino; hence the title of co-father indicates that it originated at the font.

[25] An office granted only to men of note and to leading conquistadores. *Solis, Hist. Mex.*, i. 46. It conveyed the title of 'muy virtuoso señor,' the governor being called 'muy magnífico señor,' *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 225, and permitted the holder to walk side by side with the governor. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. xii. 'Auia sido dos vezes Alcalde en la Villa de Sãtiago de Boroco, adõde era vezino: porque en aquestas tierras se tiene por mucha honra.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 13. He does not refer to him as alcalde at Santiago de Cuba, where the fleet is fitting out, as he clearly states. Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 4, mentions merely that he was here before the quarrel with Velazquez. Some writers assume that Santiago de Cuba is the same as Santiago de Baracoa, but Herrera, *loc. cit.*, and others, observe the distinction.

CHAPTER V.

SAILING OF THE EXPEDITION.

1518–1519.

THE QUALITY OF LEADER DESIRED—INSTRUCTIONS ISSUED TO HERNAN CORTÉS, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF—THE CHARACTER OF CORTÉS UNDERGOES A CHANGE—COST OF THE EXPEDITION—BY WHOM BORNE—PLACES ESTABLISHED FOR ENLISTMENT—THE BANNER—CORTÉS PUTS ON THE GREAT MAN—MORE OF HIS CHARACTER—THE SCENE AT SANTIAGO HARBOR—THE GOVERNOR'S JESTER—DARK SUSPICIONS OF VELAZQUEZ—DEPARTURE FROM SANTIAGO—CORTÉS AT TRINIDAD—FRESH RECRUITS—VERDUGO RECEIVES ORDERS TO DEPOSE CORTÉS—THE FLEET PROCEEDS TO SAN CRISTÓBAL, OR THE HABANA—REVIEW AT GUAGUANICO—SPEECH OF CORTÉS—ORGANIZATION INTO COMPANIES—DEPARTURE FROM CUBA.

WITH relations so lovingly established, and with a personal knowledge of the military genius of Cortés, and the strength and versatility of his character, it would seem that here would be the first instant choice of the governor for the command of the important expedition now in preparation. But the quality of the man required did not altogether hinge on merit. As we have seen, Velazquez required for his purpose an anomalous creation. He must be able but humble; able to command men, and able likewise to obey his chief; honest to Velazquez, but false, if necessary, to all the world else. It was not an Alexander or an Alcibiades that was wanted; not so much a man as a thing: "Piper, non homo," as Petronius Arbiter said; pungent as pepper, and not a human being.

Be this as it may, the sordid friendship of Láres and Duero prevailed with the governor, and on the 23d of October, 1518, his instructions to Hernan Cortés, commander-in-chief of the expedition, were drawn up

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and confined himself to simple diet. This moderation also extended to dress, which, before his elevation, was not only neat but tasteful in its rich simplicity, ornamented with few but choice jewels, and with little diversity. A love of pomp, however, developed with his rising fortunes, more particularly in the way of showy residences and a large retinue, which accorded well with the courtly manners native to the Spaniard claiming noble blood. Cervantes says that in the army even the niggardly become prodigal.

Cortés found the way of throwing into his cause not only himself, but others, in some respects as able as himself. His liberal measures and enthusiasm became infectious, and brought to enrolment wealthy volunteers, who furnished not only their own outfit, but helped to provide others.[8] Within a short time there joined over three hundred men, among them some high in the service and confidence of the governor—instance, Francisco de Morla his chamberlain, Martin Ramos de Láres a Basque, Pedro Escudero, Juan Ruano, Escobar, and Diego de Ordaz mayordomo of Velazquez, and instructed by him to watch proceedings and secretly report.

The harbor of Santiago at this time presented a busy scene. There were the hurrying to and fro of laborers and recruits, the clang of carpenters' hammers upon ships undergoing repairs, the collecting of goods, and the loading of vessels. Every day the landing was enlivened by the presence of the governor, often arm-in-arm with his most dutiful and compliant captain-general, surrounded by gayly dressed attendants and followed by half the town. On one of these visits of inspection, while engaged in friendly conversation respecting the progress of affairs, the Governor's jester, Francisquillo, who was present, as usual, per-

[8] Cortés himself was very liberal in advancing money or necessaries. *Puertocarrero*, loc. cit. This cavalier received a horse which Cortés bought at Trinidad with gold fringes taken from his mantle. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 14. 'Dio a muchos soldados...dineros con obligaciō de man comun.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 12.

not sustained by the best authorities.[10] The fact is, some time elapsed, after the suspicions of the governor had first been aroused, before the sailing of the fleet, during which interval Grijalva with his ships returned.

Gomara states that Velazquez sought to break with Cortés and send only Grijalva's vessels, with another commander; but to this Láres and Duero, whose advice was asked by the governor, made strong objection, saying that Cortés and his friends had spent too much money now to abandon the enterprise, which was very true; for like the appetite of Angaston which came with eating, the more Cortés tasted the sweets of popularity and power, the more stomach he had for the business. And the more the suspicions of the governor grew, the greater were the captain-general's assurances of devotion, and the firmer became the determination of Cortés and his followers to prosecute this adventure, in which they had staked their all.[11]

for we know that this pretended jest is not of thyself.' But the jester persisted in calling out, 'Hail to my master Diego and his valiant captain! I swear to thee, my master, that rather than see thee grievously regret this foolish step I would hie me with Cortés to those rich lands.' It was supposed that Velazquez' relatives had induced the man to make these remarks.

[10] Prescott states that Las Casas was on the island at the time. In this he is mistaken. On the other hand, Bernal Diaz was an eye-witness, and tells a very different story. But the tale of the soldier is not so striking as that of the priest, who writes from the statements of Velazquez' friends, colored by time and distance. The final words which passed between the governor and Cortés, according to Las Casas, in effect were these: 'Compadre, is this the way you are going? A nice manner, truly, of taking leave!' To which Cortés makes answer, 'Pardon me, sir; there are things which must be carried out before they are considered. I wait your worship's orders.' *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 451–2; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. xii.

[11] *Testimonio de Montejo*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 437. 'No le pudo estoruar la yda porq̃ todos le siguian: los q̃ alli estauã, como los q̃ venian con Grijalua. Ca si lo tentara con rigor vuiera rebuelta en la ciudad, y aun muertes. Y como no era párte dissimulo.' Cortés even announced that he was going on his own account, and that the soldiers had nothing to do with Velazquez. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 13. But this is highly improbable. According to *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, Cortés spread insinuations against Velazquez' greed and selfishness, commented upon his own liberality and upon the rich prospects before them, and thus gained the voice of his followers, so that the former dared not attempt any overt acts. 'Loricâ ab eo tempore sub veste munitus, stipatusque armatis militibus, quos spe sibi fidos amicos fecerat.' *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 346–9; *Cortés, Memorial*, 1542, in *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 310. Las Casas repeats his condemnation of Gomara, as a man who

no Æolian wind-bags to drive him back from his destination.

Despatching one of the vessels to Jamaica[14] for provisions, Cortés touched at Macaca for further supplies, and thence steered for Trinidad, where he was received with demonstrations of enthusiasm by the alcalde mayor, Francisco Verdugo brother-in-law of Velazquez, and by other hidalgos, who placed their houses at his disposal. Raising his standard before his quarters, he proclaimed the expedition and invited volunteers, as he had done at Santiago. Soon his force was augmented by over one hundred of Grijalva's men. Here also joined several captains and hidalgos, afterward famous in New Spain adventure. There were the five brothers Alvarado, Alonso de Ávila, Gonzalo Mejía afterward treasurer at Mexico, Cristóbal de Olid, Alonzo Hernandez Puertocarrero cousin of the count of Medellin, Gonzalo de Sandoval who became so great a friend of Cortés, Juan Velazquez de Leon a relative of the governor, and others.[15] From the plantations of Santi Espíritu and elsewhere came many. This Cortés beheld with proud satisfaction, and welcomed these important acquisitions with martial music and peals of artillery.

In seeking supplies Cortés paid little heed to rights of property, so long as he obtained what he needed; he was subsequently not a little proud of his success. "By my faith," he boasts in Spain in 1542, "but I did play the corsair genteelly." Among the arbitrary purchases was that of a vessel from Jamaica laden with provisions for the mines, for which the owner

[14] Pedro Juarez Gallinato de Porra was sent with a caravel under orders to take the cargo of supplies to Cabo Corrientes or Punta de Santanton, and there await the fleet. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 13. In *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, loc. cit., the captain is called Pedro Gonzalez de Trujillo. He brings 1500 tocinas (salt pork), and 2000 loads cassava. 'Mil cargas de pan cazavi, y dos mil tocinos y muchos fasoles y aves y otras cosas.' *Cortés, Memorial*, 1542, in *id., Escritos Sueltos*, 311.

[15] Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 14, mentions several more names, with occasional remarks on wealth and standing. Puertocarrero is also written Puerto Carrero, and in the modern form of Portocarrero. *Torquemada* and *Oviedo*, passim.

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the fleet. The artillery was landed and cleaned; the cross-bows were tested and the firelocks polished. Cotton armor was secured. More provisions being required, Quesada, the Episcopal tithe-collector, contributed his stock.

Warranted, as he thought, by his success and prospects, and well aware of the effect on the Spanish mind of some degree of ostentation and military display, Cortés put on the paraphernalia of still greater leadership, and appointed a chamberlain, a chief butler, and a mayordomo, in the persons of Rodrigo Rangel, Guzman, and Juan de Cáceres, which pomp he ever after maintained.[19] Gaspar de Garnica now arrived with letters from Velazquez to Barba, Ordaz, Leon, and others, ordering and entreating them to stop the fleet, arrest Cortés, and send him a prisoner to Santiago. It was of no avail, however. Soldiers, officers, even Barba himself, were enthusiastic for Cortés, who once more wrote the governor, in terms as courteous as they were costless, and shortly afterward, on the 10th of February, 1519, the fleet again set sail.[20] Guaguanico, on the north side of Cape

[19] 'Començó Cortés â poner casa, y â tratarse como señor: y el primer Maestresala q̃ tuvo, fue vn Guzmã que luego se muriò, ò mataron Indios.' A different man from the later mayordomo, Cristóbal de Guzman, who captured Quauhtemotzin during the siege of Mexico. 'Caceres....fue despues de ganado Mexico, hombre rico.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 15–16.

[20] Bernal Diaz says that Barba was one of the most devoted to Cortés. See, also, *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. iii., cap. xiii. Solis details at length a public gathering, in which the members of the expedition became highly excited over Velazquez' efforts to stop Cortés, and threatened to destroy the town. He adds that a rumor of Velazquez' coming in person to enforce his order created another excitement. *Hist. Mex.*, i. 63–6; Robertson, *Hist. Am.*, ii. 8, follows him; also Prescott. According to Las Casas, Velazquez sends a letter to Cortés, asking him to wait for an important communication, which he will bring in person or send by messenger. At the same time come letters for Ordaz and others, requesting them to seize the commander. Ordaz accordingly invites him to a banquet on board his vessel, with the intent of carrying him off to Santiago; but Cortés perceives the snare and retires under pretence of indisposition. The good bishop observes that he never knew Velazquez evince so little sagacity as on this occasion; nor did Ordaz behave any better. *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 456–7. Gomara has the same account, but adds that the messenger from Velazquez came in a caravel, together with Alvarado, Olid, Ávila, Montejo, and others of Grijalva's party, who had just arrived from an interview with the governor. *Hist. Mex.*, 14. He is evidently mixed. Torquemada, who quotes both versions from Herrera and Gomara, places the occurrence at Trinidad, and considers that Cortés was capable of and right

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campaign standard blessed, and Saint Peter invoked, whereupon the prows were pointed toward the islands of the west. All the vessels were to follow the flagship, whose light should be their guide by night; in case of separation they were to steer for Cape Catoche and thence proceed to Cozumel.[25]

[25] The date of departure is generally admitted to be February 18th, but in *Cortés, Memorial*, 1542, is written 'tardó en esto [fitting out] desde dieciocho dias del mes de Octubre . . . hasta dieciocho dias del mes de Enero, del año de diez y nueve que acabó de salir de la dicha Isla de Cuba, del cabo de Corrientes.' *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 313. This is wrong, however, for the fleet could not have left Santiago before the date of the instructions; yet it confirms the fact that three months were spent, after leaving Santiago, before the fleet finally left the island. Some of the authors indicate a portion of this time, showing that eight days were spent at Macăco and twelve at Trinidad, leaving seventy-two days for the brief passages along the south coast of Cuba and for the stay at San Cristóbal.

De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii, or, as the Spanish translator entitles it, *Vida de Hernan Cortés*, giving the fullest but also the most partial account of Cortés up to this time, is an anonymous manuscript in Latin, of eleven folio leaves, deposited in the Simancas archives, whence Muñoz obtained a copy, published by Icazbalceta in his *Coleccion de Documentos*, i. 309–57. It is in a clear hand, with corrections and marginals, evidently by the author. Several points indicate that it formed part of *De Orbe Novo*, a history of America, written apparently in a series of biographies, to judge from the reference made to a preceding part relating to Columbus, and to later parts on the conquest of Mexico. Muñoz expresses the opinion that the author may be Calvet de Estrella, chronicler of the Indies, mentioned by Nic. Antonio as the writer of the manuscripts *De Rebus Gestis Vaccæ Castri*, in the Colegio del Sacro Monte de Granada. This title induced him to name the present document *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*. The supposition is warranted by the style and by the evident date; for references indicate that it was written during the lifetime of several companions of Cortés. The fragment begins with the hero's birth and ends at his departure with the fleet from Cuba. Although the facts related conform, as a rule, to Gomara's version, a number of authorities have been consulted, some of them no longer extant, chiefly with a view to extol the character and career of the hero, and to elaborate incidents into tiresome prolixity.

CHAPTER VI.

THE VOYAGE.

1519.

SOMETHING OF THE CAPTAINS OF CORTÉS—ALVARADO—MONTEJO—ÁVILA—OLID—SANDOVAL—LEON—ORDAZ—MORLA—THE PASSAGE—THE FLEET STRUCK BY A SQUALL—ARRIVAL AT COZUMEL—ALVARADO CENSURED—SEARCH FOR THE CAPTIVE CHRISTIANS—ARRIVAL OF AGUILAR—HIS CHASTE ADVENTURES—THEY COME TO TABASCO RIVER—BATTLES THERE—CONQUEST OF THE NATIVES—PEACE MADE—TWENTY FEMALE SLAVES AMONG THE PRESENTS—THE FLEET PROCEEDS ALONG THE SHORE—PUERTOCARRERO'S WITTICISM—ARRIVAL AT SAN JUAN DE ULUA.

As the everlasting waves that bowl his ships along are discoursing to Cortés of his destiny, let us make the acquaintance of his captains, some of whom are to play parts in the Anáhuac amphitheatre secondary only to his own.

First, there was the fiery and impetuous Pedro de Alvarado, a hero of the Achilles or Sir Lancelot school, strong and symmetrical as a goddess-born; haughty, choleric, sometimes stanch and generous; passionate in his loves and hates, with the usual mixture of license, loyalty, and zeal for the church. He had not eyes to see, from where he stood in the warfare of his day, at once the decline of the fiercer barbarism and the dawn of a truer and gentler heroism. Already we have discovered flashes of temper and tendencies to treachery that display his character by too sulphurous a flame; but we shall find in him much to admire as conquistador and governor.

Alvarado was about the age of Cortés, Bajadoz being his native place. There his father, Diego de Alvarado, comendador de Lobon in the order of San-

tiago, and his mother, Sara de Contreras, struggled with poverty to maintain the reputation of a good family name. At the age of twenty-five Pedro came over to Santo Domingo, and prompted by vanity paraded himself in an old gown of his father's, whereon was sewn the red cross of Santiago. At first he wore this garment inside out, giving as a reason his reduced circumstances which made him ashamed to publicly own the rank of knight. On being reproved by the admiral, he boldly affixed the insignia to his other dresses, and thenceforth called and signed himself the Comendador Alvarado.[1] The title was never openly questioned in the Indies, where men had little time for inquiring into the affairs of others, and Alvarado failed not with his plausible tongue and crafty nature to use it for obtaining certain privileges and advancement.

When Grijalva prepared his expedition he was living as an encomendero, near Trinidad, in Cuba, with five brothers.[2] As captain under this chief he gave evidence of an enterprising nature, combined with an impatiency of restraint which ill fitted a subordinate. The want of principle already shown by his conduct at Santo Domingo was here made apparent in the attempt to injure his commander with Velazquez, in order to further his own ends. His now prominent position as a well-to-do gentleman, and the experience gathered under Grijalva, had made him a welcome member of the present expedition. He had also acquired the reputation of a good soldier and horseman, with a bravery bordering on recklessness, and was a great favorite with his men, among whom he also ranked as an able drill master. With an agile frame, he presented a most cheerful and pleasing countenance, fair, some called it, with a ten-

[1] 'Qustando....en la cibdad de Sto Domingo vibiendo con el Almirante. *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, pp. xi. 61; *Juarros, Guat.*, i. 252.

[2] 'Todos hermanos, que fue el Capitan Pedro de Aluarado, y Gonçalo de Aluarado, y Jorge de Aluarado, y Gonçalo [Alonzc] y Gomez, è Juan de Alvarado el viejo, que era bastardo.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 14.

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Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, i

[4] Helps, *Cortés*, ii. 1
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which indicated love for pleasure and generous liberality.[5]

Alonso de Ávila, the third of Grijalva's brave lieutenants, had also a pleasant face and liberal disposition, combined with good reasoning power, but was altogether too loud-spoken and argumentative, and had an overbearing manner that created many enemies. He was about thirty-three years of age. Cristóbal de Olid, a year his junior, was a well formed, strong-limbed man, with wide shoulders and a somewhat fair complexion. Despite the peculiarity of a groove in the lower lip, which gave it the appearance of being split, the face was most attractive, and the powerful voice helped to bear him out as a good talker. While lacking in sincerity and depth of thought, and being little fit for the council, he possessed qualities which, in connection with great bravery and determination, made him an admirable executive officer; but an ambition to command began to assert itself, and directed by evil influence it brought about his fall a few years later. Bernal Diaz calls him a very Hector in combat, and possessing, among other good qualities, that of being liberal; on the whole an excellent man, though unfit to be a leader.[6] The youngest of the captains, the most worshipful and the most lovable, was Gonzalo de Sandoval, an hidalgo of only twenty-two years, from Cortés' own town, the son of a fortress commandant, but with merely a rudimentary educa-

[5] *Montejo, Memorial al Emp.*, 1545, in *Cent. Amer.*, 1545–55, MS. 130. 'Fué uno de aquellos mílites que passaron á estas partes...mill é quinientos y catorçe, é aquel mesmo año...fuésse de la Tierra-Firma... é passóse á la isla de Cuba.' *Oviedo*, iii. 217.

[6] See *Hist. Cent. Am.*, this series, i., 524–32. 'Era estremado varon, mas no era para mandar, sino para ser mãdado, y era de edad de treinta y seis años, natural de cerca de Baezaò Linares....Tenia otras buenas codiciones, de ser franco.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 177. 'Era vn Hector en el esfuerço, para combatir persona por persona.' *Id.*, 240. 'Natural que fue de Vbeda ò de Linares.' *Id.*, 241. 'Da Baeza nell' Andaluzia. Era membruto, ombroso, e doppio.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 8. 'D'une laideur extrême; sa duplicité et sa fourberie le rendaient un homme peu sur,' says Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 53, with his not unusual hasty elaboration. Portrait in *Prescott's Mex.* (Mex. 1844), i. 421; also in *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, iv. 254.

tion. Brave, intrepid, and with a good head, he was equally determined in speech and in deportment, yet with a faultless obedience and loyalty that won the confidence and esteem of his chief. With a strict eye to discipline, he possessed also a kind, humane disposition, which gained the love and respect of his men, whose comfort he studied far more than his own. Plain in dress, and modest in manner and aspiration, he was free from the greed which tainted so many around him. A soldier in all qualities of the heart and mind, he was also physically fitted for one. In battle he was as wrathful and as beautiful as Apollo when he slew the Python. The robust frame, with its high chest and broad shoulders, supported a full face adorned with short, curly, nut-brown hair. The powerful voice, inclining at times to a lisp, was exhibited more in the issue of brief command than in conversation; for Don Gonzalo was as energetic to act as he was chary of words. The slightly bow-legged limbs indicated an early training for the saddle. Indeed, equestrian exercises were his delight, and his horse Motilla, a chestnut with a white foot and a star on the forehead, is described by Bernal Diaz as the finest he ever saw. Sandoval stands before us not only as an admirable man, but as an ideal officer, in his combined qualities of juvenile ardor and prudence, valor and humanity, modesty of disposition and purity of heart. Cortés spoke of him after his death with feelings of deepest regret, and represented him to the emperor as one of the finest soldiers in the world, fit to command armies.[7]

In Velazquez de Leon we find another admirable officer, who possesses many traits in common with Sandoval. He is described as about four years older than that chivalrous youth, with a well formed, powerful frame, fine chest and shoulders, full face, set in a

[7] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 240, 246; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 8; Portrait and signature in *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 254, 686. Portrait in *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, ii. 485, and in *Armin, Alte Mex.*, 217.

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Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 459,
communicate freely with Cort
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to rescue the captive with an a
as more effective. *Solis, Hist.*

cupied men in military exercise. The islanders were highly entertained, and thought the animals giant deer and the ships water-houses. In return they gave the strangers cause for wonderment not unmixed with wrath; for this was a sacred island, in a heathen sense, and thither, from distant parts, resorted pilgrims with offerings for sanguinary shrines. And when one feast-day the priests of Baal, within their temple, arose before the people and called upon the gods of their fathers, the excited Spaniards could not contain themselves; Cortés stood forth and preached his religion to the indignant savages, but failing in the desired effect, the Spaniards rushed upon the idols, hurled them from their seats, and planted in their place the emblem of their faith.[13]

In due time Ordaz returned without the lost Christians, greatly to the disappointment of Cortés, who desired them particularly for interpreters. The fleet then set sail, but was obliged to return, owing to the leaky condition of Escalante's vessel. While engaged upon repairs one day, the Spaniards being encamped upon the shore, a canoe was seen approaching the harbor from the mainland. Andrés de Tapia and others hastened to the landing, where presently the boat arrived, and four tawny undressed figures stepped upon the shore. One was bearded, and his form a little bent, and as he advanced before the others there was eager questioning in the piercing glance he threw about him. Presently he cried out in ill-articulated speech, "Señores, sois cristianos?" On being assured that they were, he dropped upon

[13] Two carpenters, Alonso Yañez and Álvaro Lopez, claim the honor of having raised the first cross for the church in New Spain. To this the natives made no great objection, the cross having already with them a religious significance; and surely the sanctified effigy of the benign Mary was a more beautiful object to look upon than their idols. See *Native Races*, iii. 468–70. In one of the temples 'auia vna cruz de cal tan alta como diez palmos.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 24. Las Casas objects to the compulsory mode of conversion used by Cortés and his holy company, and devotes a long paragraph to depicting the folly and evil thereof. *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 460–2, 470. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 18, describes the idolatrous rite, and Prescott, *Mex.*, i. 269–71, speaks of Cortés as a reformer.

his knees, and with tears falling from uplifted eyes thanked God for his deliverance. Tapia saw it at a glance; this was one of the captives. Hastily stepping forward, he caught the uncouth object in his arms, raised him from the ground with a tender embrace, and conducted him to camp.[14] But for the beard it would have been difficult, from his outward appearance, to believe him a European. Naturally of a dark complexion, he was now bronzed by exposure, and entirely naked except for a breech-cloth and sandals. His crown was shorn, and the remaining hair braided and coiled upon the head.[15] In his hand he carried a net containing, among other things, a greasy prayer-book. On being presented to Cortés he seemed dazed, scarcely knowing whether to call himself savage or civilized. At best he could not all at once throw himself out of the former and into the latter category; for when his Indian companions squatted themselves before the captain-general, and with the right hand, moistened by the lips, touched the ground and then the region of the heart in token of reverence, impelled by habit he found himself doing the same. Cortés was touched. Lifting him up, he threw over the naked Spaniard his own yellow mantle,

[14] This is the substance of Tapia's own account. *Relacion*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 556–7. Others differ somewhat in the number of Indians who arrive in the canoe, in the mode of addressing Tapia, and other points. According to Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 19, some soldiers out hunting report the approach of the canoe, whereupon Cortés sends Tapia to ascertain its object. Seven Indians of Cozumel land, and, on seeing the Spaniards advance, are about to flee in alarm, but one of them reassures the rest, and calls out, 'Dios, y Santa María, y Sevilla.' While he is embraced by Tapia, a soldier rushes to announce the news to Cortés. According to Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 20, it is meal-time and first Sunday in Lent when the news of a canoe with four Indians is brought. The fleet had been prevented by a storm from sailing on the previous day.

[15] This was a common form of Maya hair-dress. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 19, and some others describe him as shorn like a slave; but this man appears to have risen from that condition. He gives him an extra pair of sandals, hanging at the waist, a dilapidated mantle or cloth—called a net by Herrera—wherein is tied a thumbed prayer-book, and upon the shoulder he places an oar. This oar is brought into camp by almost every writer, regardless of the fact that it did not belong to him and could no longer be of use. Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 20, gives him bow and arrows. Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 461, remarks that in the prayer-book was kept an account of time, which marked this day as a Wednesday, while it really was Sunday.

able sin. So sublime had been his patience and his piety under the drudgery at first put upon him, that he too rose in the estimation of his master, who was led to entrust him with more important matters. For in all things pertaining to flesh and spirit he acted with so much conscientiousness that Taxmar, a stranger to those who loved virtue for its own sake, suspected the motives that inspired his captives. To test his wonderful integrity, for he had noticed that Aguilar never raised his eyes to look upon a woman, Taxmar once sent him for fish to a distant station, giving him as sole companion a beautiful girl, who had been instructed to employ all her arts to cause the Christian to break his vow of continency. Care had been taken that there should be but one hammock between them, and at night she bantered him to occupy it with her; but stopping his ears to the voice of the siren, he threw himself upon the cold, chaste sands, and passed the night in peaceful dreams beneath the songs of heaven.[18]

Cortés smiled somewhat sceptically at this and like recitals, wherein the sentiments expressed would have done honor to Scipio Africanus; nevertheless, he was

[18] This is in substance the adventures of Aguilar, as related at length in *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. iv. cap. vii.–viii., followed by *Torquemada*, i. 370–72, and *Cogolludo*, *Hist. Yucathan*, 24–9, and prettily, though hastily, elaborated in *Irving's Columbus*, iii. 290–301, and other modern writers. On reaching Catoche and finding Ordaz gone, he proceeded to Cozumel, in the hope of finding some of the Spaniards. 'Era Aguilar estudiante quando passò a las Indias, y hombre discreto, y por esto se puede creer qualquiera cosa del,' concludes Herrera, as if suspecting that the version may be questioned. Prudence is shown in the care with which he gradually accustomed himself to the change of food and habits on again joining the Spaniards. Peter Martyr, dec. iv. cap. vi., relates that Aguilar's mother became insane on hearing that her son had fallen among cannibals—who brought her the news it is hard to guess—and whenever she beheld flesh roasting, loud became the laments for his sad fate. This is repeated in *Gomara*, *Hist. Mex.*, 22; *Martinez*, *Hist. Nat. Nueva Esp.*, ii. xxiv. Herrera, who cannot avoid mixing in all the romance possible, makes him search for means to cross the strait. He finds at last a leaky canoe half buried in the sand, and in this frail skiff he and the Indian companion presented by his late master managed to gain the island. Others give him Cortés' messengers for companions. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 18, very reasonably permits him to hire a canoe with six rowers, for he has beads to pay for it, and canoes would not be wanting, since the island was a resort for pilgrims, particularly at this very time. Mendieta, *Hist. Eclés.*, 175–76, fails not to recognize, in the compulsory return of the fleet to Cozumel, and in the finding of Aguilar, the hand of God; and Torquemada, i. 370, eagerly elaborates the miraculous features in the appearance of this Aaron, who is to be the mouth-piece of his Moses.

exceedingly glad to secure this man, even though he had been a little less chaste and brave and cunning than he represented himself to be. He found him not only useful but willing, for this humble holy man was a great fighter, as he had said, and was very ready to lead the Spaniards against his late master, though pledged to peace and friendliness.

Early in March[19] the fleet again sailed, and after taking shelter from a gale behind Punta de las Mujeres for one or two days, passed round Catoche and along the Yucatan coast, hugging the shore to note its features, and sending forth a growl of revenge on passing Potonchan. Boca de Términos was now reached, whither Escobar had been sent in advance to explore, and within the entrance of a little harbor, to which a boat's crew was guided by blazings, a letter was found, hidden in a tree, from which circumstance the harbor was named Puerto Escondido. The letter reported a good harbor, surrounded by rich lands abounding in game; and soon after the fleet met the exploring vessel, and learned of the important acquisition to the expedition in Grijalva's lost dog.[20] Off Rio de Tabasco the fleet came to anchor, and the pilots knowing the bar to be low, only the smaller vessels entered the river. Remembering the friendly reception accorded Grijalva, the Spaniards were surprised to find the banks lined with hostile bands, forbidding them to land. Cortés therefore encamped at Punta de los Palmares, on an island about half a league up the river from the mouth, and

[19] Bernal Diaz says the 4th, which is rather close reckoning, according to his own account, for two days are required to reach Cozumel from Cape San Antonio, nine days are consumed by Ordaz in waiting for the captives, and four days for repairing Escalante's leaky vessel. This alone brings us from February 18th, the date of leaving Cape San Antonio, to March 5th, without counting a probable day or two for preparing, starting, and returning.

[20] A greyhound bitch, really of great service to the hunters. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 20, starts Escobar from Punta de las Mujeres. *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, Pt. iii. 112. Cogolludo, *Hist. Yucathan*, 29, while adopting on hearsay the more general supposition that a missing vessel is found here, follows Diaz in the account of the exploring vessel. Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 25–6, and Herrera, dec. ii. lib. iv. cap. xi., evidently attributes the name Escondido to the finding of the missing vessel.

not far from the capital of the Nonohualcas, a large town of adobe and stone buildings on the opposite mainland, protected by a heavy stockade.[21]

In answer to a demand for water, the natives thereabout pointed to the river; as for food, they would bring some on the morrow. Cortés did not like the appearance of things; and when, during the night, they began to remove their women and children from the town, he saw that his work must begin here. More men and arms were landed on the island, and Ávila was ordered to proceed to the mainland with one hundred men, gain the rear of the town, and attack at a given signal.[22] In the morning a few canoes arrived at the island with scanty provisions, all that could be obtained, the natives said; and further than this, the Spaniards must leave: if they attempted to penetrate the interior, they would be cut off to a man. Cortés answered that his duty to the great king he served required him to examine the country and barter for supplies. Entering the vessels, he ordered them to advance toward the town; and in the presence of the royal notary, Diego de Godoy, he made a final appeal for peace, as required by Spanish law, casting upon the natives the blame for the consequences of their refusal. The reply came in

[21] Mille quingentorum passuum, ait Alaminus nauclerus, et domorum quinque ac viginti millium....egregie lapidibus et calce fabrefectæ.' *Peter Martyr, De Insvlis*, 14. 'A poco mas de media legua que subian por el, (river) vieron vn gran pueblo con las casas de adoues y los tejados de paja, el qual estaua cercado de madera, con bien gruessa pared y almenas, y troneras para flechar.' Halls and temples are also referred to: 'Mas no tiene vegente y cinco mil casas.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 26–37. 'Punta de los Palmares [where Grijalva also camped], que estava del pueblo de Tabasco otro media legua.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 20. Montanus, *Nieuwe Weereld*, 77, follows Gomara and Martyr, in calling the pueblo Potonchan; so does Helps, *Span. Conq.*, ii. 260–4, who frequently reveals the superficiality of his researches. Brasseur de Bourbourg calls it Centla. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 58. The stockade defences are described in detail in *Solis, Hist. Mex.*, i. 93–4.

[22] 'Mandò poner en cada vn batel tres tiros.' Ávila received one hundred soldiers, including ten cross-bowmen, and took a route leading across creeks and marshes to the rear of the pueblo. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 20. 'Señalo Cortés dos capitanes con cada cienticinquento Españoles. Que fueron Alonso di Auila, y Pedro de Aluarado.' A ford was found half a league above the camp. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 27; Peter Martyr, dec. iv. cap. vii., sends one hundred and fifty men by different routes. The testimony favors the supposition that Ávila forded the river.

Next morning Alvarado and Francisco de Lugo, each with one hundred men, were sent by different ways to reconnoitre and forage, with orders to return before dark.[25] Melchor, on being called to accompany one of them, was missing. Presently his clothes were discovered hanging on a tree, indicating that he had gone over to the enemy. Lugo had advanced not more than a league when, near a town called Centla, he encountered a large body of warriors, who attacked him fiercely and drove him back toward the camp. Alvarado had meanwhile been turned by an estuary from his course and in the direction of Lugo. Hearing the noise of battle he hastens to the assistance of Lugo, only to be likewise driven back by the ever increasing hosts, and not until Cortés came to the rescue with two guns did the enemy retire.[26] The result, according to Bernal Diaz, was two of Lugo's men killed and eleven wounded, while fifteen Indians fell and three were captured.

Nor did the matter rest here. The captives told Cortés that Tabasco, concerned at the arrival of so large a fleet which augured hostile occupation, had aroused the province, the assembled chiefs being also urged by Melchor to manfully expel the invaders, as

announced that he took possession for the king, and would defend his right against all comers. The soldiers thereupon shouted their approval, declaring that they would sustain their captain in his challenge. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 21. Zamacois compares this form with others used elsewhere. *Hist. Méj.*, x. 988.

[25] The *Carta del Ayunt. de Vera Cruz*, in *Cortés, Cartas*, 15, refers to a certain intercourse held with natives; on the third day the exploring parties start. This intercourse is spoken of by Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 30, as the visit of twenty leading men to promise food and presents, but really to spy. The Spaniards were encouraged to enter the interior to barter food. *Torquemada*, i. 374; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 21. Alvarado, Ávila, and Sandoval are sent, each with eighty Spaniards and some Cuban carriers, to explore by three routes, and to get supplies for payment only. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 31; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. iv. cap. xi. Three parties sent out. *Tapia, Relacion*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 559. Four captains sent, with over two hundred men. *Carta Ayunt.*, loc. cit.

[26] Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 31, states that one of the captains took refuge in a building in Centla town, and was there joined by the other two. All three now retreat to camp, whither two fleet Cubans run for aid. Herrera, Torquemada, and Brasseur de Bourbourg follow him. Before Cortés set out, says Cogolludo, *Hist. Yucathan*, 32, he had repelled an attack on his own camp.

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and slings, and every man
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[31] Cortés, on coming up and being
panions! God is with us!' *Relacion*,
Gomara, who fervently adopts the story
apostles, in the person of Morla. 'Tod
del cauallo rucio picado....y que era
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Indios lo notaron....De los prisionero
Mex., 32–3. Pizarro y Orellana, *Varo*
show that it could have been none other
iards. After a struggle with his pious
that Gomara may be right, but 'I, un
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were so numerous that they could hav
Hist. Verdad., 22–3. Las Casas scouts
written down by 'his servant Gomara,' i

of five captives, leading men, were sent with presents to the cacique to represent the danger of further hostility, and to propose a council of peace. Tabasco was very ready to lay down arms, and he sent a propitiatory offering of fowl, fried fish, and maize bread by messengers with blackened faces and dressed in rags. Cortés answered with a reprimand, "Tell your master, if he desires peace he must sue for it, and not send slaves." Tabasco hastened to comply, and sent immediately to Cortés an embassy of forty chiefs, richly clad and walking in stately procession, followed by a file of slaves bearing presents. Low bowing before the bearded assembly, and swinging before them the censer in token of reverence, the ambassador implored pardon, and proffered submission. "The blame is all your own," said Cortés, with severity. The Indians acquiesced, though it puzzled them to know for what they were to blame. Cortés further informed them that the great king, his master, had sent him to scatter blessings, if they were found deserving; if not, to let loose upon them the caged lightning and the thunder which he carried. Whereat the gun charged for the occasion was fired, and as the noise reverberated over the hills and the ball went crashing through the trees, the Indians fell prostrate with fear, and the noble Europeans were proud of their superiority.

Reassured against further punishment, the next trick played upon them was to tie a mare in the bushes in sight of a stallion which they paraded before their visitors; and when he neighed and reared and plunged to get to his mate, the natives were told that the great beast was angry because of the peace that was being made, and only further gifts would pacify him.

ing some brief references to Central America, occupies about one third of the volume, and treats chiefly of the Conquest. The book is remarkable for its black-letter text, with marginals in the same type, and for its title-page, with the figures of 'Montenchuma' and 'Atabaliba' surrounded by battle-scenes and Indian industrial operations.

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CHAPTER VII.

WHAT MONTEZUMA THOUGHT OF IT.

HOME OF MEXICAN CIVILIZATION—THE BORDER LAND OF SAVAGISM—CONFIGURATION OF THE COUNTRY—THE NAHUAS AND THE MAYAS—TOLTECS, CHICHIMECS, AND AZTECS—THE VALLEY OF MEXICO—CIVIL POLITY OF THE AZTECS—KING AHUITZOTL—MONTEZUMA MADE EMPEROR—CHARACTER OF THE MAN—HIS CAREER—THE FIRST APPEARING OF THE SPANIARDS NOT UNKNOWN TO MONTEZUMA—THE QUETZALCOATL MYTH—DEPARTURE OF THE FAIR GOD—SIGNS AND OMENS CONCERNING HIS RETURN—THE COMING OF THE SPANIARDS MISTAKEN FOR THE FULFILMENT OF THE PROPHECY—THE DOOR OPENED TO THE INVADER.

BEFORE entering upon the crusade which was so painfully to affect the destinies of this vast interior, let us cast a brief glance upon the country and its inhabitants, and particularly on that idiosyncrasy of the aboriginal mind which opened the door to the invaders. The first two subjects are fully treated in the first, second, and fifth volumes of my *Native Races of the Pacific States* to which I would refer the reader, being able here to give only an outline of what in detail is an exceedingly interesting phase of indigenous development.

This development awoke to consciousness in the forms of the Nahua and Maya civilizations, the former occupying the northern portion of that tropical tableland which rises to salubrious heights between latitudes 22° and 11°, and the latter the southern portions. Round the opaque lowland edges of this heaven-enlightened interior the mind of man seemed also dark and low, dwarfed by sandy sweeps, or overshadowed by redundant foliage; yet it was not altogether free from the influence of its neighbors, for the people of

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pyramids of Teotihuacan and Cholula. For five centuries this people flourish, sustained by a confederation of kings whose capitals become in turn famous as seats of learning and of imperial splendor. Religious strife, developing gradually into civil war, with attendant famine and pestilence, opens the door to ruder tribes, and the Toltecs pass off the stage. Throwing off the Toltec veil so long shielding them, a number of tribes now rise into distinct political existence, and the stronger, in connection with somewhat ruder yet more energetic incomers, form the new ruling combination, the Chichimec empire. Of the leading power, denominated the Chichimec, nothing is known; but the permanency of Nahua language and civilization leads to the supposition that it is of the same race as its predecessors. In later times the name is also applied to the wild border tribes of the north. For several centuries Anáhuac becomes the scene of intrigues and struggles between the different branches of the combination for the balance of power, during which a number of towns figure as dominating centres, and a number of tribes rise to prominence under the traditional term of conquerors and immigrants. Among these are the Aztecs, the representative nation of the Nahua civilization at the coming of the Spaniards.

Upon opposite sides of the largest of a cluster of lakes which illuminate the oval valley of Mexico have stood, since the beginning of the fourteenth century, three cities, Tezcuco, Mexico, and Tlacopan, capitals of three confederate nations, the Acolhuas, the Aztecs, and the Tepanecs. To the first belonged the eastern portion of the valley, to the second the southern and western, and to the third a small portion of the north-west. Of this confederation, Tezcuco was for a time the most powerful; Tlacopan was least. While keeping to their respective limits within the valley, beyond its classic precincts the three powers made common cause against the barba-

rians. About the middle of the fifteenth century, under the warlike Montezuma I., Mexico attained the supremacy, and during the next sixty years extended her empire to the shores of either ocean. Within this circuit, however, were several nations which she never conquered; instance the Tlascaltecs, the Tarascos, and the Chiapanecs. Many there were —for example, the people of Tehuantepec, of northern Guatemala, and Soconusco, and the Miztecs and Zapotecs of Oajaca, whose conquest by the Aztecs was temporary—who either paid tribute for a time only, or who threw off the yoke the moment the invader's back was turned. The Matlaltzincas, west of the lakes, and the Huastecs and Totonacs of Vera Cruz, were subjugated but a few years prior to the appearing of the Spaniards. These coast-dwellers had not yet become reconciled to the rule of the interior lords, but hated them as inveterate foes; and herein lay one of the chief causes of success accompanying the Castilian arms. Indeed, Aztec supremacy was maintained in every quarter only by constant war; rebellion, as soon as checked in one quarter, breaking out in another. Further than this, the Aztecs, by their overbearing spirit, had become obnoxious to their allies; yet their aggressive policy was continued in full force by the predecessor of Montezuma II., Ahuitzotl, with whom war was an absorbing passion.

In the civil polity of the Aztecs were elements which, if given free play, would by elevating the people raise the nation yet higher in the scale of domination. This did not escape the observant neighbors, upon whom the prospect fell with chilling fear, a fear by no means mitigated by the ever increasing tendency of the Mexicans for the immolation of human beings. Nor were the Aztec nobles pleased to see political power slipping from their grasp and falling into the hands of the people, among whom the spirit of republicanism and equality was

Prince, he could not have more faithfully followed its precepts. No sooner had he assumed the sceptre than, throwing off the mask by which he had deceived the plebeians, he dismissed every person of that class employed about the palace, and filled all vacancies, civil and military, from the ranks of the nobles. He applied himself with energy to war and diplomacy, in both of which he was eminently successful, and raised himself and his throne to the highest pinnacle of grandeur; whereupon he did not disdain the title of Emperor of the World. Notwithstanding his talents and accomplishments, he was exceedingly superstitious, surpassing in this respect many of his followers, and was dependent on diviners and astrologers, appealing also to the counsels of Nezahualpilli and other prominent personages. Men, whom he knew, he did not fear; but the gods, whom he did not know, he feared exceedingly. And because he practised human sacrifice to propitiate them he has been called cruel, but the actions of a blind devotee of religion must not be measured by a too critical standard. There was nothing cruel in the wish of Caligula, however hateful and vindictive it might be, that the Roman people had but one head, so that he might strike it off at a single blow; but when he tortured men and women for amusement while at his meals, that was the quintessence of cruelty. As for honor, integrity, and all those virtues which go to make a man, we must not expect them in princes or in politicians; yet we may safely say that in all the generous qualities of mind and heart the Aztec monarch was no whit behind contemporary European rulers.

From all which it is safe to say that Montezuma, though most magnificent and lordly among his lords, was not popular with the masses, and his position at this juncture was not of the safest. His extravagance exceeded all bounds; his continuous wars were expensive; and to meet the heavy draughts upon the treasury required excessive taxation. This was made to

For the chief divinity of the Nahua nations was Quetzalcoatl, the gentle god, ruler of the air, controller of the sun and rain, and source of all prosperity. In the palmy days of the Toltecs he had been their king, the creator of their golden age, giving them metals, improved government, and products of spontaneous growth; after which he was their god, with his chief shrine at Cholula, where surrounding peoples, even those inimical to the city, maintained temples for his worship. From toward the rising sun Quetzalcoatl had come; and he was white, with large eyes, and long black hair, and copious beard. After a final rule of twenty years at Cholula he set out for the country whence he came, and on reaching the seaboard of Goazacoalco he sailed away on a craft of snakes. His last words were that one day bearded white men, brethren of his, perhaps he himself, would come by way of the sea in which the sun rises, and would enter in and rule the land;[2] and from that day, with a fidelity befitting Hebrews waiting the coming of their Messiah, the Mexican people watched for the fulfilment of this prophecy, which promised them a gentle rule, free from bloody sacrifices and oppression; but to their sovereign the thought gave rise to deep apprehension, for then his own reign must terminate.

Thus it was that the tidings of strange sails and bearded white men on their eastern border were received at the gay capital with mingled fear and joy. And marvel-mongers went about the streets talking of the good Quetzalcoatl and his pedigree, of the signs and wonders that had been seen, the prodigies, oracles, and occult divinations, as in ancient Athens the old families of Olympus, with their ape-gods and bull-gods of Memphis, and the dog-headed monster Anubis, were discussed; and as for Rome, Lucan has recorded

[2] See *Native Races*, iii. and v., 25–6, for the myths relating to Quetzalcoatl, and to their interpretation, in which occur the characters of the Messiah and the apostle Saint Thomas, with whom some pious chroniclers have identified him. The Saint Thomas idea is advocated in *Florencia, Hist. Prov. Comp. de Jesus*, 234.

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argument to prove it a volcanic eruption, one of his points being that the original picture-writing places the light as appearing behind, or from, the mountains east of the city. In 1510, *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 278, or year five, toxtli. *Codex Chimalpopoca*, MS.; *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 139. Torquemada, who had no other authority for the preceding comet than Herrera, considered that by the comet was meant this light, i. 234. Humboldt suggests that the fiery pyramid may have been a zodiacal light. Astrologers announced that it portended wars, famine, pestilence, mortality among the lords, every imaginable ill, in fact, and causing one general cry of fear and lament. Montezuma himself was so troubled that he applied for advice to Nezahualpilli, although they had not been on speaking terms for some time. This royal astrologer showed his apprehensions by ordering all campaigns then upon his hands to be suspended, and announced to his confrère that the disasters in store would be brought upon the empire by a strange race. Montezuma expressed his disbelief, and proposed a game of *tlachtli* to decide the interpretation. As if resigned to the fate predicted for himself, and desirous of showing how little he appreciated wealth and power, Nezahualpilli is said to have staked on the result his kingdom against three turkey-cocks. The wager was not so hazardous, however, as it seemed, for the king of Tezcuco was a good player. After allowing Montezuma to win the first two points, and raising high his hopes, he stopped his exultation by scoring the rest for himself. Still doubtful, Montezuma called on an astrologer famous for his many true announcements, only to receive confirmation of Nezahualpilli's utterance, whereupon the irate monarch caused the house to be pulled down over the diviner, who perished in the ruins. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 278–9; *Veytia, Hist. Ant. Méj.*, iii. 345–7. Clavigero, who connects the game with a comet, is quite earnest in asserting his belief in traditions and presages of the coming of Spaniards, as attested by native paintings and by witnesses of high standing. 'Se il Demonio pronosticava le futura calamità per ingannar qué 'miserabili Popoli, il pietosissimo Dio le annunziava per disporre i loro spiriti al Vangelo.' *Storia Mess.*, i. 288–9. According to Duran, the summoning of Nezahualpilli was due to a comet with an enormous tail, which burst upon the view of a temple-watcher as it rose in the east and settled above the city. Montezuma, who had been roused to witness the phenomenon, called on his sorcerers for an explanation, and on finding that they had seen nothing, had them punished for their sloth. The wise Tezcucan then came and presaged dire calamities, which would also afflict himself. He was resigned, and would retire to await death. This was to be the last interview between the two kings. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 274–85. Torquemada compares the comet to that which, according to Josephus, lib. vii. cap. xii., presaged the entry of Titus into Judea. When Nezahualpilli returned to his palace, a hare ran into the halls, pursued by eager domestics, but he bade them to leave it, saying that even so would a strange people enter into Anáhuac without resistance. *Torquemada*, i. 211–12, 214. Bernal Diaz speaks of a round sign in the eastern sky, of a reddish green, to which was attached a streak extending eastward. The consequent predictions of war and pestilence he finds fulfilled in the campaign of Cortés, and in the smallpox epidemic introduced by Narvaez. *Hist. Verdad.* (Paris ed. 1837), iv. 460–1. Among the accounts of celestial signs which may be based on the preceding is one by Camargo, describing a brightness observed in the east by the Tlascaltecs, three hours before dawn, accompanied by a whirlwind of dust from the summit of Mount Matlalcueje. Remesal refers probably to the same whirlwind under the guise of a white cloud, like a pillar, which often appeared in the east before sunrise, and afterward descended upon the cross erected in Tlascala by the Spaniards. The natives accepted this

be in so many respects as the good gods themselves were to have been. The prophecies of Isaiah are dim indeed and unfathomable as compared with these.

as an intimation that the new-comers were heaven's chosen people, and received the cross. *Hist. Chyapa*, 304; *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 140. Gomara appears to connect this eastern light with a thick smoke and with the fiery pyramid, which were followed by a battle in the sky between bodies of armed men, attended with great slaughter. Some of the courtiers surrounding Montezuma while he observed this phenomenon, pointed out that the arms and dress of the victorious faction resembled those in the chest which had been washed up on the coast. He declared his conviction, however, that they must be relics of his divine ancestors, not of mortal beings who fell on a battle-field, as these forms appeared to do. He proposed, as a test, that they should break the divine sword. This they tried, but in vain, and remained mute with wonder at its flexibility and strength. *Hist. Mex.*, 214; *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. ix. Mendieta places this sign in 1511. *Hist. Eclcs.*, 179. The last celestial sign, as described by Mendieta, is a large, brilliant comet, which appeared the very year of the Spaniards' arrival, and remained immovable in the air for several days. *Hist. Eclcs.*, 180. Before Nezahualpilli returned to his capital, after interpreting the fiery signs, he was feasted by Montezuma, and the two monarchs thereupon retired to the diviners' chamber to search into the legends of their forefathers for further light upon the omens. From this circumstance grew the story that the twain had made a journey to the ancient home of their race. Nezahualpilli, being a conjurer, took Montezuma through the air to the Seven Caves, where they conversed with the brethren of their ancestors. On learning that the first named was a descendant of the great Chichimecatl Xolotl, he was offered the government of this region, but declined, promising, however, to return at a later date. *Torquemada*, i. 212–13. Duran applies to the reign of Montezuma I. a similar story, which is more appropriate to the present subject. Eager to acquaint his ancestors with the glorious achievements of their progeny, and to learn something of the old home, this monarch sent a force of sixty sorcerers on a mission to Chicomoztoc, with numerous presents for Coatlicue, the mother of the divine Huitzilopochtli. Transforming themselves into animals, they reached the sacred region occupied by some Aztecs whom the god had left behind when he set out on his career of conquest. These venerable settlers were not a little surprised to behold in the effeminate and ephemeral specimens before them the descendants of that doughty leader and of his companions. On reaching the abode of the divine mother, the sorcerers found an old woman sorrowing over her lost son. The news of his glorious fate roused her interest, and she was induced to reveal several prophecies by her son, among them one concerning the coming of a strange people to wrest the land from the Mexicans. The messengers were dismissed with presents of food and clothing, and returned to their master with twenty of their number missing. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., i. 467–86. Additional facts may be found in *Native Races*, v. 422–4, etc. Another visit to the spirit world is attributed to Papantzin, sister of Montezuma II., who, shortly after his accession, had married the lord of Tlatelulco. He soon died, and after ruling for a few years she, in 1509, followed him to the grave. She was buried with great pomp in her garden, in a vault closed by a flag-stone. The next morning she was discovered sitting on the steps of the bath adjoining the vault. Her niece, a child of five or six years, was the first to notice her. Too young to understand what would frighten older heads, she fearlessly approached the resurrected woman, and was told to call Papantzin's mayordoma. This old dame, on receiving the summons, thought it a child's prank, and would not stir, but at last she yielded, and on seeing the form of her late mistress, swooned with fear. Others proved more courageous, and carried her into the house. Papantzin now enjoined

To what end are signs that cannot be interpreted until after the occurrence, as is generally the case, when their interpretation is not needed, sages do not say.

silence, and wished to call Montezuma, but no one daring to appear before the cruel and superstitious monarch, Nezahualpilli was summoned, and he brought the brother with him to her dwelling, together with several attendants. To them she related that, on being released from her earthly bonds, she had entered a boundless plain, upon a road which soon divided into several branches. On one side was a fiercely running stream, which she attempted to cross, but was motioned back by a youth of fine stature, dressed in a loose robe of dazzling whiteness. His face, bright as a star, was of fair complexion, the eyes grey, and the forehead marked with a cross. Taking her by the hand, he led her up the valley past heaps of dead men's bones, from many of which rose the sound of lament. She also observed a number of black persons, with horns and deer legs, building a house. As the sun rose, large vessels could be seen ascending the river, bearing white and bearded men in strange attire, with shining head-gear, and standard borne aloft. They were children of the sun. The youth, in pointing them out, said that God did not yet wish her to pass the river, which could never be recrossed, but to wait and bear testimony to the faith coming with these men, who were destined to wage great wars with her people and become their masters. The lamenting bones were her forefathers —'who had not received the faith,' is the uncharitable term used by Torquemada—suffering for their evil deeds, and the house building was to hold the bones of those slain in battle by the fair-faced crews. She must return to earth, await these men, and guide her people to baptism. On being restored to her senses from the death or trance, whatever her listeners chose to term it, she removed the stone from the vault and returned to her chamber. Many of those present sneered at the story as originating in the brain of a sick woman, but Montezuma was more deeply moved than he cared to show. He never again saw his sister, who lived a retired life till the arrival of the Spaniards. She then came forward, the first woman in Tlatelulco to receive baptism, and under the name of María Papantzin rendered good aid in the missionary cause. This account, says Torquemada, has been taken from old native paintings, translated and sent to Spain, and was regarded as strictly true among the natives, Papantzin being well known in the town. 'Esta Señora era del numero de los Predestinados,' i. 238–9. Ixtlilxochitl, strangely enough, does not refer to the resurrection. According to him, the mother of Ixtlilxochitl, king of Tezcuco, was the first woman baptized, and this under compulsion from her husband. She received the name of María. After her came Papantzin, now wife of this king, who was named Beatriz. Cortés stood godfather to both. Sahagun refers briefly to the resurrection of a woman of Tenochtitlan, who issued, four days after her death, from the garden vault where she had been deposited. Appearing before Montezuma, she announced that with him would cease the Mexican empire, for other people were coming to rule and settle. This woman lived twenty-one years after this, and bore another child. *Hist. Gen.*, ii. 270–1. At this rate she must have been alive when Sahagun arrived in the country; yet he fails to speak of her as a princess. Boturini applies the story to a sister of King Caltzontzin, of Michoacan, who died at the time the Spaniards were besieging Mexico, and rose within four days to warn her brother not to listen to the Mexican overtures for an alliance against the white invaders. The new-comers, she said, were destined by heaven to rule the land, and a testimony hereof would appear on the principal feast-day in the form of a youth, who, rising in the eastern sky, with a light in one hand and a sword in the other, would glide over the city and disappear in the west. This sign appearing, the king did as she bade him, rejected the Mexican advances, and received the Spaniards in peace. *Catálogo*, 27–8. Clavigero censures Boturini's work, in this

But in this instance the testimony is abundant and explicit that many of these prodigies were at the time received, not only by Montezuma and his people, but

connection, as full of fables, and this after solemnly observing that the Papantzin incident 'fu pubblico, e strepitoso, acaduto in presenza di due Re, e della Nobiltà Messicana. Trovossi altresì rappresentato in alcune dipinture di quelle Nazioni, e se ne mandò alla Corte di Spagna un attestato giuridico.' *Storia, Mess.*, i. 289–92. He places the baptism of Papantzin in 1524. *Veytia, Hist. Ant. Méj.*, iii. 348–52; *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 125–6. Torquemada gives the story of what occurred in the spirit land in her own words; so does Clavigero, though he differs slightly. See also his English translation by Cullen. As if in confirmation of her story, ominous signs became more numerous than ever. The big lake of Mexico began to boil and foam without apparent cause, the water rising high within the city and creating great damage. The date generally accepted for this occurrence is 1509, but Mendieta, *Hist. Ecles.*, 178, says 1499. The lake, like the sky, was connected with more than one mysterious occurrence. A troop of Huatuscan conjurers arrived shortly after this in the imperial city to exhibit tricks, in one of which they cut off their hands and feet, disclosing bleeding stumps, and then replaced the members. In order to test whether this was an illusion or not, the emperor ordered the severed members to be thrown into boiling water before they were returned to the performers. This unwarranted curiosity stirred the magicians to the very core, and before retiring they predicted that the lake would be tinged with blood, and that their avengers would soon appear in a strange people, the conquerors of the empire. Not long after, Montezuma noticed streaks of blood in the lake, mingled with a number of human heads and limbs. He called others to witness the sight, but none save himself could see it. Sending to the injured conjurers for an explanation, they replied that the vision denoted great and bloody battles to be waged in the city by the strange people. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. ix. About the same time some fishermen caught a grey bird, like a crane, with a round comb or diadem, resembling a mirror. On being brought before Montezuma, he was startled by seeing reflected in this mirror the heavenly bodies, although none appeared in the sky, for it was yet daylight. The next moment the stars had vanished, and in their place were seen beings, half man and half deer, who moved about in battle array. Diviners were called to give their explanation, but when they came the bird had disappeared. Torquemada appears to date this as early as 1505, i. 235. *Camargo, Hist. Tlasc.*, 139–40. Another great bird is referred to, with a human head, which soared above the lake uttering the prediction that speedily would come the new rulers of the empire. Other monsters were found in the shape of double-bodied and double-headed men, which dissolved in the air shortly after being brought to the sorcerers', or black hall, of Montezuma. A horrible animal was caught near Tecualoia. *Torquemada*, i. 214. During all the years of these signs could be heard, at frequent intervals, a female voice lamenting, 'Oh, my children, all is lost to us! My children, whither will you be taken?' *Id.*, 214, 233. A similar voice was heard before the fall of Jerusalem. *Josephus*, lib. vii. cap. xii.; *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, 180; *Veytia, Hist. Ant. Méj.*, iii. 358; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, i. 5. In 1510 the imperial city was startled, one clear, quiet night, by a fire, which, bursting from the heart of the timbers in the temple of Huitzilopochtli, burned all the fiercer under the efforts made to quench it. A precursor of this had been the fall of a stone column close to the temple, coming no one knew whence. 'El chapitel de un Cú de Vitzilopuchtli, que se llamaba Tlacoteca, se encendió.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, i. 3–4. Shortly after, the temple of the fire god Xiuhtecutli, at Zocomolco, was stricken by lightning and burned. This occurred without the usual accompaniment of thunder, and with but a sprinkle of rain; many regarded it as done by a sunbeam, and consequently as particularly ominous. 'Los

by the neighboring nations, as the distinct announcement of the coming of the gods, who did in good truth appear at the proper time in the person of the Spaniards. And what should be their doom, those stupid and profane men of Potonchan and Tabasco, who had raised their hands against these heavenly messengers!

We are further assured that, prior to the arrival of any Spaniard, some of the subjected provinces assumed an air of independence, encouraged by the fear which these occurrences produced on the Aztecs, against whom they were regarded as especially directed. Cuetlachtlan sorcerers having in their divining-pits conjured up visions of Mexicans acting as abject carriers to armed bearded men astride giant deer, this people became in 1511 so insolent as to refuse the customary tribute, and even to murder the Aztec officials sent to collect it. And so involved was Montezuma in divers troubles that he was unable to resent the outrage.

The thought occurred to the Mexican monarch that perhaps the threatened evils might be averted by propitiating the gods with greater sacrifices. For this the several campaigns then waged or concluded promised an abundance of victims; and to make the holocaust still more imposing, it was resolved to consecrate at the same time a new sacrificial stone. After diligent search a suitable stone was found at Tenanitlan, near Coyohuacan. The sculptors having finished their work, and the priests theirs, with loud hosannas it was rolled along toward the imperial city. While crossing the Xolco canal the bridge broke, and the stone sank beneath the water, dragging down the high-priest and his attendants, "who went to hell quicker than the stone," comments the pious Torquemada.

Indios decian....el Sol ha quemado este Templo; porque ni hemos visto Relampago, ni hemos oido Trueno.' *Torquemada*, i. 214, 234. Believing, or pretending to believe, the city attacked by enemies, the Tlatelulcans rushed to arms, for which excess of zeal they were punished by a suspension of all their townsmen who held positions at court. *Native Races*, v. 461-67.

The stone, however,
on the summit of th
blood of over twelve

And now Montezu
he fears were alread
dire oppression is he
other officials, says
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rences relating to a
Wise and politic as h
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Huitzilopochtli's ima
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[4] Torquemada assumes that
at the consecration of two
See *Native Races*, v. 471. Te
in vain to move the stone fro
voice, 'Your efforts are in vain
a parallel in the vain effort of
to make room for Jupiter's t
head to the ground, shortly
recovering from their alarm,
almost of its own accord. A
and finally the stone reaches t
Amid the invocation of priest
with the report that no vestige
extending toward Chalco. Wh
in comes a messenger to annou
had returned to its original
Observing in this occurrence th
and recognizing at the same
death, he ordered his statue to
decessors, on the rocky face of
statue. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 204–7.
Storia Mess., i. 292–3. Among
doomed people are mentioned:
Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq., v.
dad de mariposas, y langostas
Herrera, dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. i
which overwhelmed the army
mountains, rocks and trees ca
number, while others froze t
Others say 1510. During the
the ground opened near Mexic
interpreted this to signify a v
with a shake of the head, tha
zuma's delight somewhat abat
accordò (Montezuma) muy bien

This, and more
note, shows at lea

porque....no es increyble
que aquel auiso se diesse.'
resolved to seek a refuge
him. The place selected
myths as an abode of
flowers, and flowing with
As a preliminary step fo
sent to Huemac, the ruler
messengers. These consist
backs to carry the flayed s
the skins of ten flayed men
they were guided by its gu
themselves before the Azte
skins with the prayer of M
and into his service. Unw
sion through death's port
ents, giving the evasive re
rows and await relief. Or
the men to be cast into pr
repeating his request for a
explanation of the many
answer, told them that Cic
posed it to be. He and
were kept there by a superi
satisfactory report entailed
fore. Two Acolhuan chiefs
that Huemac should at lea
if he still refused him adm
cloud rising at midnight
or qualities of these messe
ter, Huemac explained tha
pride and cruelty. Let hi
eighty days. This accomp
the summit of Chapultepe
that he rewarded the chief
ments for the government
appointed time to Tlachto
preparations and return in
This he did, after enjoining
Arrayed in a human skin a
seated himself upon a fea
dwarf and hunchback page
in the distance, brilliant
terious being, and hope l
however, and the emperor
voice recalled him from h
Tzoncoztli temple, who rel
mand from approaching t
master to duty. His pres
and to infuse respect amo
ment his disappearance be
must obey the divine com
world. Montezuma yielded
side the faithful Tzoncozt
Tezozomoc, Hist. Mex., ii.
et seq.; *Duran, Hist. Ind.*,

or gods.[7] The beads and other trinkets given in return for their goods they received as priceless marks of favor from supernatural personages. When Pinotl explained as best he was able the majesty and wealth of his sovereign, Grijalva promised to return some day and visit him in his great city. Bearing with them paintings on *amatl*, or maguey paper, of the vessels with all their belongings, and of the soldiers and sailors with their arms, armor, dress, and attitude, down to their very swagger, and leaving orders that the strangers should be treated with every consideration, the chief men of the province set out by fast relays to report the awful tidings to the emperor.[8]

Entering the imperial presence they prostrated their bodies to the ground, which they kissed, declaring themselves worthy of death for having ventured unbidden before their lord, but their mission permitted no delay. "For oh! most dread sovereign," they exclaimed, "we have seen gods! All of us here present have seen their water-houses on our shores. We have talked with them, and eaten with them, and have handled them with our hands; we have given them gifts, and have received in return these priceless treasures." Then they showed the glass beads, a specimen too often approaching the value of the gifts received by the strong from the weak. Montezuma sat mute, scarcely heeding the messages sent him by Grijalva, concerned most of all that vassals should not witness his dismay. Here again was his phantasy before him, like the shade of dead Hector before

[7] 'Besaron todos las proas de las naos en señal de adoracion, pensaron que era el Dios *Quetzalcoatl* que volvia.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, i. 5.

[8] According to Tezozomoc, an Indian, with ears, thumbs, and big toes cut off, arrived from Mictlancuauhtla with the report that he had seen a round mountain on the sea moving to and fro without approaching the shore. The informant was placed under guard, and a chief with an attendant sent to Pinotl to verify the statement, and to chide him for neglect to report. They soon returned to say that from a tree they had seen two such mountains or towers, from one of which a canoe had set out on a fishing trip. The men on board had white faces and hands, long, thick beard, long hair, raiments of varied and brilliant colors, and round head-covering. The mutilated Indian being now called to answer further questions, his prison cell was found vacant. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 232–4; *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 359–77.

says Duran, in his version, 'and wish to eat you, let them do so; I promise to look to the future of your children and relatives.' *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 366–7. 'If you are convinced that it is Quetzalcoatl,' continued Montezuma, 'adorn his person with these jewels made for the purpose, and say that I beg him humbly to come and take possession of the throne which I hold for him.' *Tezozomoc, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 236–9. This author confounds Grijalva and Cortés, but allows the jewels and message to reach the latter. According to Duran, Montezuma tells the chief to ask the god for permission to finish his rule; after his death he is welcome to the throne. 'Que me dege morir, y que despues de yo muerto venga muy de norabuena, y tome su Reyno pues es suyo y lo dejó en guarda á mis antepasados,' ut supra. Acosta, *Hist. Ind.*, 508–14 refers briefly to this subject, and to the various omens and visions, some of which he regards as dreams imparted by angels. Meanwhile fresh messengers arrive to report that the white captain had spread the wings of his floating mountains and faded away in the east. They bring later drawings and gifts, including beads, shirts, a hat, some biscuits and wine. The monarch crunches the biscuits and admits them to be good, but the wine, with its penetrating sweetness, lulling the senses and calling up happy visions, this delights him, and specimens of both are deposited upon the altar of Quetzalcoatl at Tula. Finally, on seeing the glass necklace, he declares the giver to be indeed the Acatl Ynacuitl, the travelling god of the reed; and deeming himself unworthy of so brilliant an adornment, he consecrates it to the gods. The best painters are called to give a superior representation of the strange visitors from the rude drawings brought by the messengers, and from their description, while the old and wise men are asked for recollections and ideas which may throw light upon the subject. After much search a tradition is raked up, wherein a race is to come from the east mounted on serpents or masted mountains, and with them a white, bearded people, astride of big deers and eagles, who will land at Tzonapan, and obtain possession of all the land. They are also described as a one-legged people, with the face in the middle of the body, of white complexion and with long beard. In confirmation thereof is produced an old painting, which agrees with those depicting the late arrivals. Convinced of the identity, Montezuma orders the governors of the coast provinces to maintain a close watch for the return of the strangers, so that he may receive speedy notice. *Tezozomoc, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 241–50; *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 359–92.

This chapter presents but a faint picture of the state of affairs within the Mexican empire at the time of the arrival of Cortés. As I said at the outset, all this I have given in my *Native Races*, and can not of course repeat it here. Further authorities on omens and on the state of the Aztec empire, most of them, however, of no value, are *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 5–12; *Beltrami, Mexique*, ii. 137–9 and 142–3; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, iii. 130–2; *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 124–6; *Bos, Leben der See-Helden*, 4–5; *Hazart, Kirchen-Geschichte*, ii. 505–8; *Touron, Hist. Gen. Am.*, iii. 127–34; *Viagero Univ.*, xxvi. 192–237; *Larenaudière, Mex. et Guat.*, 73–5; *Lafond, Voy.*, i. 105–7; *Eggleston's Montezuma*, 11–17; *Sammlung aller Reisebesch.*, xiii. 289–91; *Russell's Hist. Am.*, i. 76–9; *Laharpe, Abrégé*, ix. 268–73; *Du Perrier, Gen. Hist. Voy.*, 332–6; *Burke's Europ. Set.*, i. 71; *Smollett's Voy.*, i. 214–19; *Chevalier, Mexique*, 7–22; *Mexique Études*, 9–10; *Robertson's Hist. Am.*, ii. 17–18; *Bussierre, L'Emp. Mex.*, 119–30; *Manzi, Conq. di Mess.* 14–19; *Roure, Conquête du Mex.*, 211–20.

nearest town, to welcome the white chief and offer their devotion. They would likewise know whence he comes, and why."

Instantly all eyes are on the speaker, who under their continued gaze draws back, abashed at her own temerity, while the warm blood mantles beneath its clear olive confine, and the breath comes inconstant between parted lips. Cortés regards her as she stands there unconscious of the important service she has rendered him; for possessed she the power of Thetis, to assume any form she pleased, the fair interpreter could not at this juncture have appeared before the chief in any other aspect half so fascinating. Who is she? The one baptized Marina, at Tabasco; and who, being the greatest lady there, was given to Puertocarrero, the greatest gentleman present. Why had she been given to Puertocarrero? Why had not the chief chamberer himself taken her? Cortés had weightier matters on his mind. He was playing for empire, and would not now stop to divide the petty winnings with his men. By and by right royally will he reward the unsanctified within him for its abstinence. As for this girl, he seems now for the first time to see her.[3] Had Marina, the slave, been born in other lands, under different auspices, to what exalted sphere might not her personal loveliness and beauty of character have entitled her!

They say she was fair for an Indian; very beautiful she certainly is, and of that order of loveliness that captivates the understanding no less than the passions. The old as well as the young are ravished with her beauty, even as with Helen were the elders of Troy. She is about eighteen, and in form and features perfect; her long hair falling over smooth, round shoulders, and from large lustrous eyes radiating a

Spaniards Ovandillo. *Hist. Verdad.*, 25. Herrera, Pitalpitoc. Solis, followed by Robertson, Pilpatoe. Bernal Diaz and Gomara name Teuhtlile, the chief governor of the province, who lived farther in the interior, as the sender.

[3] According to Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 40, and Herrera, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. iv., this new interpreter is not discovered until four days later.

was sold to the cacique, and by him transferred to the Spaniards. With a mind elastic and quick to learn, to her native Mexican tongue she added at Tabasco a knowledge of the Maya, becoming afterward proficient in Spanish. And now no longer slave, save to the passion love, she is to queen it for a while as consort of the conqueror, becoming in the conquest second only in power and importance to Cortés himself, whom with her whole soul she loves, and to whom alone she clings after the departure presently of Puertocarrero for Spain. Accompanying the invaders as interpreter and adviser, she shares their hardships and rejoices in their successes. For is not the daring commander lord of her heart and person? Moreover, what claim upon her has a nation which drives her into solitude beyond its border, and for no crime? Therefore, if her newly found friends sicken, she nurses them; if they despair, she comforts them. Nevertheless she cannot forget her people, but freely exerts her influence in their behalf, saving many a life and many a town from destruction. Toward the end both races vie in showing her their admiration, gratitude, and respect; and although to the Indian the invaders become more and more objects of execration, yet he never mentions with aught but loving reverence the name Malintzin, or Malinche, as in his tongue is called Marina.[6]

town, bearing the name of Malinche. *Mexique*, 26–7; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.* (Bustamante ed.), i. 41; *Berendt*, in *Salazar, Méx. en* 1554, 178; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. vi.; Sahagun, *Hist. Conq.* i. 15, mentions Teticpac, and Oviedo names Mexico as Marina's native place, iii. 259, while Saavdra undertakes to reconcile the different statements by supposing that her family came originally from Jalisco, west of Anáhuac, to Mexico city, and thence to Goazacoalco. Her high intelligence indicates that she was educated in the capital. *Dic. Univ.*, ix. 774.

[6] Mexicans being unable to pronounce the 'r,' Marina became Malina, to which the *tzin* was added in respect, equivalent to doña or lady. Malinche was a Spanish corruption, which was at times applied by the Indians to Cortés, as the lord and companion of Marina, and Juan Perez de Arteaga had also the appellation added to his name, from being so often with her. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 52. Another conjecture is that her original name was Malina, or Malinalli, signifying 'twisted thing,' the term for one of the Mexican days, applied in accordance with a native custom of giving children the name of their birthday. The name indeed is not uncommon, the lord of Tlachquiauhco,

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The place had bee
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remaining were daughters, of
the wife of Martin de Tolosa
however, for in the Libro de
dated April, 1550, wherein the
her grandson, Don Alonso de E
encomendero of Tilantongo tow
1844), ii. 268–9. In *Cortés, Res*
to a daughter of the interprete
having tampered, as he did wi
Saavedra's wife, but a Tabascan
presented a woman incumbered w
the Spaniards. Saavedra allows M
who procured for her a high positi
children, from whom descended
Univ., ix. 778. But this authority
Ideal portraits are given in *Carbajal*
Hist. Méj., ii. 350.

[7] I have said, as the native record
lates, that the fleet is sighted and rep
Ulua—from Tabasco, says Vetancvrt
had already begun to hope that the st
with apprehension; yet he orders spe
the coast, in order to bring speedy ne
the strangers with all they need, and
met Grijalva, to ascertain their objec
tezuma holds the throne as mere dep
he supposes that it is Quetzalcoatl, a
to Mexico the roads will be cleaned,
his accommodation. Tlillancalqui de
lace of gold set with precious stones,
beings he offers fowl and tortilla to h
wish to go to Mexico, and asks that cl
hurries back with the message, leavi
all they desire. *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, M
230–3. According to the version by
sends the same messengers whom
Grijalva, but who arrived too late.
Tepuztecatl, Tizahua, Huehuetecatl,
sent the presents already prepared fo
of Quetzalcoatl. On reaching the fl
god Quetzalcoatl. At first surprise
clue. Seating himself on an improv
he orders the messengers to appear
whom they seek, they prostrate the
thereupon addresses him: 'Welcom
servants and vassals, waited for you.

them, and after interchange of courtesies led the way to the altar, draped in native cotton fabrics, where Father Olmedo celebrated mass,[10] aided by Father Juan Diaz, Aguilar, and a trained choir. The service over, Cortés invited the chiefs to dinner, and there informed them that he was a captain of the greatest monarch the sun smiled on, Charles V. of Spain, who, hearing of Montezuma's fame, had sent him presents and a message, which must be delivered in person immediately.[11] How easy the way to him who knows it! Had Cortés but spoken the simple word, "I am Quetzalcoatl, come to resume my rule," he might possibly at one time have ridden midst hosannas to the capital, and seated himself without resistance on Montezuma's throne.

But the minion of an earthly monarch is quite a different being from the fair god in the eyes of the Aztec officers, who answer somewhat haughtily, "Be it known to you that our master is the inferior of none; and for the present let these gifts suffice." Saying which the signal is given; the slaves advance and deliver their burdens, consisting in part of food, cotton fabrics more than ten bales, brilliant feather-work, and a cacaxtli, or basket, filled with wrought gold set with rare stones and pearls. Cortés expressed thanks, and gave for Montezuma in return a carved and inlaid arm-chair, some engraved marcasite laid in musk-scented cotton, a bright red cap, a gold medal stamped with the figures of St George and the dragon, twisted strings of beads, and other articles; and would the emperor deign to wear the cap and occupy the chair when it became his pleasure to receive him? To the chiefs were also given some trifles. Teuhtlile promised to deliver to Montezuma the gifts and the

[10] Here Solis takes Bernal Diaz to task for asserting that mass had been already said on Friday. *Hist. Mex.*, i. 121. But the scholar is too severe upon the soldier, whose head is true enough, however may be his tongue.

[11] 'All Gomara's fictions,' sneers Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 484, who ignores Marina's ability to interpret, and thinks the interview was limited to the simplest expressions conveyed by signs.

Montezuma v
facts; and when
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Cacama of Tez
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so live withou
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the visitation
urged expulsion
foolish gods the
to their destroy
of Montezuma

[11] 'Y desque viò el
eramos del linage de
á señorear aquesta tie
is followed by a cut a
Hist. Tlasc., 141. Th
how the messengers ar
important bearers of n
They arouse his admir
trating swords, the su
toxicating food; but
treated and how the
emperor wept, and w
Torquemada, i. 385–6
incorporates all this n
reach Mexico with his
firming their account.
ing of Cortés' eagerne
grieve deeply over the
soled him by represen
less set about to arra
396–7; *Tezozomoc, His*

the end determined on, he adopted a middle course. He would decline the interview, yet not rudely drive the strangers hence, lest, peradventure, they might be gods and successfully oppose him. He would send them liberal gifts, and beseech them to depart, thus exposing at once his weakness and his wealth.[15]

A diplomate of the first nobility was accordingly despatched to the sea-shore. With him went Teuhtlile, returning after only a week's absence.[16] Numerous natives were in attendance, among them over a hundred slaves. Bowing low before Cortés, who had on this occasion put on greater pomp than usual, the envoy touched the earth with his hand, carrying it to his lips, and then he swung the copal censer.[17] Together with Teuhtlile he thereupon seated himself beside Cortés; and it was remarked how much alike they looked, the Spanish commander and the Aztec envoy, who, perhaps, had been selected for this reason, with the aid of the portraits made by the native painters, and as a mark of honor to the white captain. The soldiers not inappropriately called him the Mexican Cortés.[18]

The slaves were then directed to lay down the presents; among which were thirty bales of cotton fabrics, from gauzy curtains to heavy robes, white,

[15] *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 287–8; *Camargo, Hist. Tlasc.*, 141–2; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. ix. Torquemada refers to the similar mistake of King Hezekiah of Judea, in exhibiting to the Assyrian envoys his wealth, and thus attracting invaders. i. 391, 404.

[16] This seems an incredibly short time in a country without horses, for Mexico lies over 200 miles by road from this part of the coast; but with numerous relays of runners and litter-bearers the distance would not take long to cover. 'Estas mensajerias fuerõ en vn dia, y vna noche del real de Cortes a Mexico, que ay setenta leguas y mas.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 41.

[17] Torquemada., i. 389, assumes this to have been in token of divine adoration, but the ceremony was a quite common mark of respect for distinguished persons. See *Native Races*, ii. 284. 'Nos llamaron Teules.....ó dioses.' 'Hence when I say Teules, or Gods, it may be understood to mean us,' says Bernal Diaz with conscientious pride. *Hist. Verdad.*, 32. But the *teu* or *teo* prefix to names must be accepted in the same light as the incense burning, and in this case equivalent to 'hero.' See also *Clavijero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 19. 'Demonios' is Oviedo's translation of teules, iii. 500.

[18] Some writers doubt the ability of native painters to have given a sufficiently accurate portrait; but with the aid of explanatory signs there was little difficulty.

colored, plain, and figured,[19] interwoven with feathers or embroidered with gold and silver thread; feathers and plumes of all colors, embroidered sandals, and marcasite mirrors. All these, however, were trifles beside the gold, the beautiful glittering gold which was now disclosed, and likewise the silver. First there was a disk of the yellow metal, representing the sun with its rays, as large as a carriage wheel, ten spans in diameter, ornamented in demi-relief and valued at thirty-eight hundred pesos de oro.[20] A companion disk of solid silver, of the same size, and equally ornamented, represented the moon.[21] Then there were thirty golden ducks, well fashioned; a number of other pieces in form of dogs, lions, monkeys, and other animals; ten collars, a necklace with over one hundred pendent stones called emeralds and rubies by the Spaniards; twelve arrows, a bow with cord stretched, two staves each five palms in length; fans, bracelets, and other pieces, all of fine gold, beside a number of silver. What could have delighted the Spaniards more? One thing only, and that was not wanting—the gilt helmet returned full of virgin gold, fine dust and coarse, with a plentiful mixture of nuggets of various sizes and shapes, all fresh from the placers. The value of this was three thousand

[19] Some of them were checkered, which to Peter Martyr is a sufficient proof that the Mexicans played chess, dec. v. cap. x.

[20] *Carta del Ayunt. de V. Cruz*, in *Cortés, Cartas*, 29. 'Pessaba la de oro quatro mill y ochoçientos pessos . . . tenia nueve palmos y medio de anchura é treynta de çircunferençia,' says Oviedo, who inspected the presents at Seville, evidently with mathematical precision. iii. 259. 'Pesaua cien marcos, hecha como Sol, y con muchos follajes, y animales de relieue.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 42. Peter Martyr, dec. iv. cap. ix., describes the central figure as a king enthroned, surrounded with foliated ornaments. In the above *Carta del Ayunt.* a peso de oro and a castellano are shown to be equivalent, and a marco contains fifty castellanos. Writers differ widely in their calculations to reduce these coins to modern values, Prescott estimating the castellanos at $11.67 in United States money, and Ramirez, in a critical note thereupon, at $2.93. *Prescott's Mex.*, i. 321; also edition Mex. 1845, app. ii. 79–92. See note on coins in *Hist. Cent. Am.*, this series, i. 192–3. Clemencin, in *Mem. Real Acad. de Hist.*, vi. illust. 20, 525–45, enters fully into the subject.

[21] Weighing 48 marcos. *Carta del Ayunt.*, loc. cit. 'De cincuenta y tantos marcos, ternia de gordor como un toston de á 4 reales,' says Las Casas, who examined the gifts in Spain. *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 485–6. 'Otra mayor rueda de plata.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 26. Robertson, *Hist. Am.*, ii. 16, 449, misunderstanding Diaz, places the value of this disk at 20,000 pesos or £5000.

pesos, and appreciation was attracted not so much by the amount as by the significance of the gift, as Bernal Diaz remarks, for it afforded a sure indication of the existence of rich mines in the country. "It was this gift which cost Montezuma his head,"[22] says Torquemada.

The words which followed fell on closed ears. These so greatly admired gifts are but a slight token of the high regard of the emperor, who would be pleased to form a friendship with his king; but he could not think of troubling Cortés to come to him through a hostile country; besides, he was ailing. Everything the visitors might wish to aid their departure would be instantly supplied. This and more. Poor, foolish monarch! As well might he ask the ravenous wolf to depart after giving it to lick a little blood from his scratched hand. For the gifts, a thousand thanks; but after so long a voyage, undertaken solely for the purpose, the Spanish captain dared not face his master without having seen the great Montezuma. As for the road, its difficulties or dangers were nothing. Would the chiefs present their monarch these further articles, and bring speedy answer?[23]

Meanwhile discussion was in order among the Spaniards, and speculation as to what should be done. Some advised immediate advance on Monte-

[22] *Monarq. Ind.*, i. 390. 'Valdria el oro y la plata que allí habia 20 ó 25,000 castellanos, pero la hermosura dellas y la hechura, mucho más.' *Las Casas*, ubi sup. 'Podia valer este presente veynte mil ducados, o pocos mas. El qual present tenian para dar a Grijalua.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 42. 'Q̃ lo reparta cõ los Teules que cõsigo trae,' says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 27, intimating that another present was coming for the white emperor; but it was applied to the expedition treasury like nearly everything obtained by trade or seizure. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. v; *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 115. Brasseur de Bourbourg estimates the gold disk alone at 357,380 francs. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 85. Peter Martyr, dec. iv. cap. ix., gives a detailed description of several of the presents.

[23] This time the presents for the chiefs were some embroidered shirts, silk sashes and other things, while to the emperor he sent a Florentine goblet, gilt and enamelled with figures, three Holland shirts, and some bead articles, not a very costly return for what he had received. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 27, and Herrera, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. vi., enumerate the presents given to them. 'Teudilli.... le rogo mucho, q pues estaua mal aposentado en el cápo y arenales, se fuesse con el a vnos lugares seys o siete leguas de alli.' But Cortés declined to leave the camp. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 43.

zuma's capital; some, fearful of the nation's strength, as manifested by its arts and refinements, favored return to Cuba for reinforcements. Cortés let them talk, but said little. Traffic at first was freely permitted among the men,[24] and as the result was meagre Cortés did not think it worth while to require of them a division. To this irregularity certain of the Velazquez leaders objected, demanding at least that the royal fifth should be deducted; the commander therefore ordered gold to be received only by Gonzalo Mejía, as treasurer.[25]

Ten days elapsed before Teuhtlile returned, without the envoy,[26] but followed by a file of slaves bearing, among other things, as a present to the Spanish king, ten loads of rich feathers and robes, some gold figures valued at three thousand pesos, and four chalchiuite stones, each declared to be worth a load of gold, but of no value to Europeans.

Teuhtlile then stated that further messages to the emperor were useless, since the desired interview could not be granted. He hoped the Spaniards would content themselves with the promised supplies and depart in peace.

Turning to his companions, Cortés said: "Truly this must be a great lord, and rich; and, God willing, some day we will visit him." Just then the bell struck for Ave María, and instantly, with uncovered heads, the soldiers were kneeling round the cross. The priests, ever ready to preach their faith where an opportunity presented, were soon at work. His words, however, made a bad impression on the governor, as had also the evasive answer of Cortés to his

[24] 'Y aquel oro que rescatauamos dauamos â los hombres que traiamos de la mar, que iban â pescar, â trueco de su pescado.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 27. If so it was probably after the Indians deserted.

[25] Gomara refers to an order to stop all barter for gold, with a view to let it appear that the Spaniards cared not for the metal, and thus to induce the Indians to make no secret of the manner in which it was obtained. *Hist. Mex.*, 39. As if the natives had not already learned what we wanted, sneers Bernal Diaz.

[26] 'Que se dezia Quintalbor, no bolvió mas, porque auia adolecido en el camino.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 27.

message. He bade a cold farewell, and the next morning the Spaniards awoke to find the native encampment deserted, and even the supplies carried away. Precautions were now taken against probable attack, by sending on board the provisions and all cumbrous articles, leaving embarkation easy at any moment.[27]

[27] According to Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 45, Cortés told the governor that he would not leave without seeing Montezuma. Solis elaborates this as usual into a long speech, to which Teuhtlile replies with threats, and turning his back stalks out of the camp. *Conq. Mex.*, i. 153–5; *Herrera*, dec. i. lib. v. cap. vi.

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himself somewhat more firmly on this soil than his commission seemed to justify, chance might offer opportunity, and the signal service find achievement. Such were the thoughts that just now filled his sagacious brain, but the way was by no means clear before him.

While the events narrated in the preceding chapter were in progress, Montejo, with two vessels, had been sent northward to seek a harbor less unwholesome than the present, where many of those wounded at Tabasco had died.[1] As second in command went Rodrigo Álvarez Chico, and as pilots, Alaminos, and Álvarez el Manquillo. On reaching the extreme point attained by Grijalva, the strong current prevented further advance, as in the former attempt.[2] They were obliged by a gale to throw overboard part of their cargo. Water failed, and in the attempt to land an artilleryman perished. Prayer was now their only recourse, and this not only changed the wind, but brought rain. After a fortnight of misadventures[3] they returned to San Juan de Ulua, and hastened bareheaded to the cross to offer thanks. More wholesome airs were not difficult to find, but good harbors were not abundant thereabout. The only favorable spot found by Montejo lay some ten leagues north of the camp, close to the native fortress of Quiahuiztlan.[4] A high rock affording shelter from

[1] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 27. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. vi., and others refer to a similar number as being on the sick-list. Yellow fever, or vómito negro, now the scourge of this and adjoining regions, appears to have developed with the growth of European settlements, and Clavigero states that it was not known there before 1725. *Storia Mess.*, i. 117.

[2] 'Hasta el parage del rio grande de Pánuco.' *Herrera*, loc. cit. 'Llegaron al parage del rio grande, que es cerca de Panuco, adonde otra vez llegamo quãdo lo del Capitã Juan de Grijalua.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 27.

[3] 'Doze dias que gastaron en este peligroso viage.' *Herrera*, ubi sup. 'Boluiose al cabo de tres semanas.... le salian los de la costa, y se sacauã sangre, y se la ofreciã en pajuelos por amistad a deidad.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 45.

[4] *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 289. Quiauitl, rain or shower. *Molina, Vocabulario.* Hence rainy place. Herrera calls it Chianhuitzlan, and this has been adopted by Clavigero and most other writers. Prescott, *Mex.*, i. 348, in a note holds up Clavigero as a standard for the spelling of Mexican names, but he forgets that the Italian form, as in the above case, would be misleading to English people.

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Mex., pt. iii. 115. Th
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not return, neither would he just at present die. In desperate cases spirited counsels and spirited actions are usually safest.

Calling to him his most trusty followers, Puertocarrero, Alvarado and his brothers, Ávila, Olid, Escalante, and Francisco Lugo, he laid the situation fairly before them. Shortly after these captains were out among the men, holding forth to them privately on the wealth of the country, the ease and glory of conquest, and the prospect of repartimientos. Where was the benefit of returning to Cuba? Surely they might as well hold the country for themselves as to abandon it and let others step into their places. It would be much easier to increase the present force by adding to it than to raise a new army better appointed or larger than this. Nor did they forget the argument of religion, which, however hollow in practice, was weighty enough in theory. "Elect therefore to remain," they said in conclusion; "and choose the able and generous Cortés for your general and justicia mayor till the emperor decides in the matter."[6]

The opposition was by no means ignorant of these manœuvres, and Ordaz was commissioned to remonstrate with Cortés. He dwelt on the danger of present colonization, denounced any attempt to ignore Velazquez, and insisted on instant return. Suppressing the anger naturally arising from these insinuations, true as they were, Cortés disavowed any intention of exceeding the instructions of his commission. For himself he preferred to remain, as, among other reasons, the only means of reimbursing himself for his heavy expenditures. If, however, it

[6] Bernal Diaz relates with great satisfaction how earnestly the speaker pleaded for his vote, addressing him repeatedly as 'your worship.' One reason for their earnestness, he implies, was the superiority in number of the Velazquez party. 'Los deudos, y amigos del Diego Velazquez, que eran muchos mas que nosotros.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 28–9. He forms this estimate most likely on the proportion of leaders who from jealousy of Cortés, and for other reasons, were addicted to Velazquez; but their men were probably more in favor of the general than of the captains, to judge from the result. The sailors for obvious reasons may have added to the Velazquez number, if not to their strength.

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[7] 'Se hazia mucho de
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their way, every mouth was dumb, and the commander remained more potent than ever?

A colony being thus decided on, the founding ceremony was performed by the quasi laying out of a town, the planting a pillory in the plaza, and a gallows at some distance outside,[8] though strictly speaking, the town was not properly located or laid out till afterward. Referring to the treasures here obtained, and to the day of landing, the new town was called Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz.[9] Cortés, as commander, appointed the municipal officers,[10] naming for alcaldes Puertocarrero and Montejo, a judicious selection, both for his own interests and as likely to meet general approval. And here again is displayed the subtle policy of Cortés, who to this important position nominates but one from among his own faction, Montejo being for Velazquez. Thus of an opponent he made an adherent, conciliating at the same time the entire Velazquez party.[11] The regidores were Alonso de Ávila, Pedro and Alonso de Alvarado, and Gonzalo de Sandoval; procurador general, Francisco Álvarez Chico; alguacil mayor, Juan de Escalante; escribano, Diego de Godoy. Beside these were appointed, in the interests of the military department, as capitan de entradas, Pedro de Alvarado; maestre de campo, Cristóbal de Olid; alférez, Corral; alguaciles de real, Ochoa and Romero; tesorero, Gonzalo Mejía; contador, Alonso de Ávila.[12]

[8] 'Se puso vna picota en la plaça, y fuera de la Uilla vna horca.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 29; *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 116. This signifies that justice was installed, its officers being next appointed.

[9] See note 23, chap. ii., this volume.

[10] 'Nombrónos.... por alcaldes y regidores,' say distinctly the appointed officers themselves, in their letter to the emperor. *Carta del Ayunt.*, in *Cortés, Cartas*, 20. Bernal Diaz also indicates that Cortés made the appointments, although he at first says, 'hizimos Alcalde, y Regidores.' Yet it is probable that the authorities were confirmed formally as they were tacitly by the members of the expedition; for Cortés, as he acknowledges, had no real authority to form a settlement.

[11] *Testimonio de Montejo*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 489. 'A este Montejo porque no estaua muy bien con Cortés, por metelle en los primeros, y principal, le mandò nombrar por Alcalde.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 29.

[12] *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. vii; *Torquemada*, i. 587. Bernal Diaz skips the regidores. He thinks Villareal was not reappointed alférez because of

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[19] The soldiers called
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[20] According to Gomar
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Mex., 43–4.

[21] See *Native Races*, v.

the dark-fringed forests rose old Orizaba,[23] laughing at their distress beneath its cap of snow, and wondering why mortals so superior should choose the deadly *tierra caliente* country for their promenade, when gentle, genial Anáhuac lay so near. But presently the senses quickened to the aroma of vegetation; soft swards and cultivated fields spread before them their living green, and the moist, murmuring wood anon threw over them its grateful shade. If beside grave thoughts on the stupendous matters then under consideration, might find place such trifles of God's creation as birds of brilliant plumage and of sweet song, they were there in myriads to charm the eye and ear; game to fill the stomach, though not so satisfying as gold, always commanded attention, and was also plentiful.[24] Through all, dispensing life and beauty on every side, flowed the Rio de la Antigua, where a few years later rose old Vera Cruz.[25]

Crossing this stream with the aid of rafts and shaky canoes, the army quartered on the opposite bank, in one of the towns there, which was destitute alike of food and people, but which displayed the

[23] The natives called it Citlaltepetl, starry mountain, with reference probably to the sparks issuing from it. For height, etc., see *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 273. Brasseur de Bourbourg gives it the unlikely name of Ahuilizapan. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 99. The ending 'pan' implies a district or town, not a mountain. The description in *Carta del Ayunt.*, in *Cortés, Cartas*, 22-3, expresses doubt whether the whiteness of the summit is due to snow or to clouds.

[24] Alvarado chased a deer, and succeeded in wounding it, but the next moment the dense underbrush saved it from pursuit. The *Carta del Ayunt.*, loc. cit., gives a list of birds and quadrupeds; and a descriptive account, founded greatly on fancy, however, is to be found in the curious *Erasmi Francisci Guineischer und Americanischer Blumen-Busch*, Nürnberg, 1669, wherein the compiler presents under the title of a nosegay the 'perfume of the wonders of strange animals, of peculiar customs, and of the doings of the kings of Peru and Mexico.' The first of its two parts is devoted to the animal kingdom, with particular attention to the marvellous, wherein credulity finds free play, as may be seen also in the flying dragon of one of the crude engravings. In the second part, the aborigines, their history, condition, and customs, are treated of, chiefly under Peru and Mexico, chapter v. relating specially to the latter country. The narrative is quite superficial and fragmentary; the 'nosegay' being not only common but faded, even the style and type appearing antiquated for the date. Appended is *Hemmersam, Guineische und West-Indianische Reissbeschreibung*, with addition by Dietherr, relating to Africa and Brazil.

[25] 'A tres leguas andadas llego al rio que parte termino con tierras de Montecçuma.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 49; *Torquemada*, i. 395.

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[28] 'Cempoal, que yo inti
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[29] *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Ch*
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[33] 'Toda aquella provincia de Cem
dicha villa, que serán hasta cinquent
villas y fortalezas.' *Cortés, Cartas,* 53.
Gomara, Hist. Mex., 57. 'En aquella
eran mas de trienta pueblos.' *Bernal*
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north of Vera Cruz, and from the sea t
Mixquhuacan to have been the capital

[34] Gomara relates that the army ren
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won his confidence and adhesion. *Hi*
ceta, Col. Doc., ii. 561; *Herrera*, dec.
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[35] For illustrated description of barra

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[39] 'Monteçuma teni
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Hist. Verdad., 28.

[40] 'Carcerati nelle l
iii. 28. One was even

[41] 'Porque no se les
nal Diaz' reason for it.

Samaritan. In pursuance of which plan, when all had retired for the night, he went stealthily to them, asked who they were, and why they were in that sad plight, pretending ignorance. And when they told him, this rare redresser was angry, hot with indignation that the noble representatives of so noble a monarch should be so treated. Whereupon he instantly released two of them, comforting the others with the assurance that their deliverance should quickly follow; for the emperor Montezuma he esteemed above all emperors, and he desired to serve him, as commanded by his king. Then he sent the twain down the coast in a boat, beyond the Totonac boundary.

Next morning, when told that two of the Aztec captives had broken their bonds and escaped, the Totonacs were more urgent than ever for the immolation of the others. But Cortés again said no, and arranged that they should be sent in chains on board one of his vessels, determined afterward to release them, for they were worth far more to his purpose alive than dead.

It is refreshing at this juncture to hear pious people censure Cortés for his duplicity, and to hear other pious people defend him on the ground of necessity, or otherwise. Such men might with equal reason wrangle over the method by which it was right and honorable for the tiger to spring and seize the hind. The one great wrong is lost sight of in the discussion of numerous lesser wrongs. The murderer of an empire should not be too severely criticised for crushing a gnat while on the way about the business.[42]

At the suggestion of Cortés, messengers were sent to all the towns of the province, with orders to stop

[42] 'Condotta artifiziosa, e doppia,' etc., says Clavigero, *Storia Mess.*, iii. 28, while Solis lauds it as 'Grande artífice de medir lo que disponia, con lo que rezelaba: y prudente Capitan.' *Hist. Mex.*, i. 186.

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CHAPTER X.

MULTIPLICATION OF PLOTS.

JUNE–JULY, 1519.

CORTÉS, DIPLOMATE AND GENERAL—THE MUNICIPALITY OF VILLA RICA LOCATED—EXCITEMENT THROUGHOUT ANÁHUAC—MONTEZUMA DEMORALIZED—ARRIVAL OF THE RELEASED COLLECTORS AT THE MEXICAN CAPITAL—THE ORDER FOR TROOPS COUNTERMANDED—MONTEZUMA SENDS AN EMBASSY TO CORTÉS—CHICOMACATL ASKS AID AGAINST A MEXICAN GARRISON—A PIECE OF PLEASANTRY—THE VELAZQUEZ MEN REFUSE TO ACCOMPANY THE EXPEDITION—OPPORTUNITY OFFERED THEM TO RETURN TO CUBA, WHICH THEY DECLINE THROUGH SHAME—THE TOTONACS REBUKED—THE CEMPOALA BRIDES—DESTRUCTION OF THE IDOLS—ARRIVAL AT VILLA RICA OF SALCEDO—EFFORTS OF VELAZQUEZ WITH THE EMPEROR—CORTÉS SENDS MESSENGERS TO SPAIN—VELAZQUEZ ORDERS THEM PURSUED—THE LETTERS OF CORTÉS—AUDIENCE OF THE EMPEROR AT TORDESILLAS.

PALAMEDES invented the game of chess while watching before the gates of Troy; a tame business, truly, beside the achievements of the heaven-born Achilles, the hero of the war. Yet chess remains, while Achilles and his heaven have melted with the mists. Who shall say, then, which was the greater, Cortés the soldier, or Cortés the diplomate? But these were barbarians, one says, with whom the shrewd Spaniards had to deal; they had neither horses, nor iron, nor gunpowder, to aid them in their wars. Furthermore, they regarded the strangers fully as demi-gods, probably as some of their own wandering deities returned. True; but he makes a great mistake who rates the Mexicans so far beneath Europeans in natural ability and cunning. Montezuma lacked some of the murderous enginery that Cortés had, and his

inner life was of different dye; that was about all. If any would place Cortés, his genius, and his exploits, below those of the world's greatest generals, because he warred on enemies weaker than their enemies, we have only to consider the means at his command, how much less was his force than theirs. What could the Scipios or the Cæsars have done with half a thousand men; or Washington, or Wellington, with five hundred against five hundred thousand? Napoleon's tactics were always to have at hand more forces than the enemy. In this the Corsican displayed his astuteness. But a keener astuteness was required by Cortés to conquer thousands with hundreds and with tens. Perhaps Moltke, who, with a stronger force, could wage successful war on France, perhaps he, and a handful of his veterans, could land on the deadly shores of the Mexican Gulf, and with Montezuma there, and all the interior as dark to them as Erebus, by strategy and force of arms possess themselves of the country. I doubt it exceedingly. I doubt if one in ten of the greatest generals who ever lived would have achieved what the base bastard Pizarro did in Peru. The very qualities which made them great would have deterred them from anything which, viewed in the light of experience and reason, was so wildly chimerical. Then give these birds of prey their petting, I say; they deserve it. And be fame or infamy immortal ever theirs! Lastly, if any still suspect the genius of Cortés unable to cope with others than Indians, let them observe how he handles his brother Spaniards.

It was about time the municipality should find anchorage; too much travelling by a town of such immaculate conception, of so much more than ordinary signification, were not seemly. Velazquez would deride it; the emperor Charles would wonder at it: therefore half a league below Quiahuiztlan, in the dimpled plain which stretches from its base to the harbor of Bernal at present protecting the ships,

where bright waters commingling with soft round hills and rugged promontories were lifted into ethereal heights by the misted sunshine, the whole scene falling on the senses like a vision, and not like tame reality, there they chose a site for the Villa Rica,[1] and drew a plan of the town, distributed lots, laid the foundations for forts and batteries, granary, church, town-hall, and other buildings, which were constructed chiefly of adobe, the whole being inclosed by a strong stockade. To encourage alike men and officers to push the work, Cortés himself set the example in preparing for the structures, and in carrying earth and stones. The natives also lent their aid, and in a few weeks the town stood ready, furnishing a good shipping depot, a fortress for the control of the interior, a starting-point for operations, an asylum for the sick and wounded, and a refuge for the army in case of need.

Great was the excitement in Anáhuac and the regions round about over the revolt of the Totonacs and the attitude assumed by the Spaniards; and

[1] Villa Rica is the name appearing in the first royal charter of 1523, but with later foundations Vera Cruz became the title. *Panes, Extension Veracruz*, MS., 1 et seq. The municipal council, however, distinctly calls it *la Rica Villa de la Veracruz* and ought to be the proper authority for the form of name first applied. *Carta del Ayunt.*, in *Cortés, Cartas*, 1 et seq. 'Y luego ordenamos de hazer, y fundar, è poblar vna Villa, que se nombró la Villa Rica de la Vera-Cruz; porque llegamos Jueves de la Cena, y desembarcamos en Uiernes Santo de la Cruz, ó rica por aquel Cauallero que....dixo que mirasse las tierras ricas.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 29. 'Llamola Villa Rica a la nueua poblaciõ, y de la Veracruz, por auer desembarcado el Viernes Sãto, y Rica, por la riqueza que se auia descubierto.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. vii. Although nominally founded adjacent to San Juan de Ulua, there was no intention to build the town on that unhealthy and dreary spot. The first actual foundation took place at the harbor of Bernal. Nearly five years later the town rose anew on the present Rio de la Antigua, where it became known alone as Vera Cruz. In 1599 the actual or new Vera Cruz found itself finally planted on the very site of the first nominal foundation. The chief reason for this change was probably the need for the better protection against filibusters afforded by the island of San Juan de Ulua, whose batteries commanded the harbor. See *Albornoz, Carta al Emperador*, Dec., 1525, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 495. The charter for la Nueva Ciudad de la Vera-Cruz was granted July 19, 1615. *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 68; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 30; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 27; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 276–7. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. de Jesus*, i. 149–50, has some excellent remarks hereon. Few authors, however, are free from blunders with regard to the different sites, even Lorenzana committing more than one. *Cortés, Hist. N. España*, 381.

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[2] 'Los Hombres mas Poc
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[3] Inconsolable at the pr
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gun, *Hist. Conq.*, i. 15–16.
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Geog. Descrip. Oajaca, pt.

dissemblings breathed into the ears of two poor captives—see how they shot forth like winged swords to stop an army on the point of marching to its slaughters! Here, as in scores of other instances, Cortés' shrewdness saved him from disaster.

For in the midst of the warlike preparations arrived the two released collectors, and their presentation of the magnanimity of the white chief, of his friendly conduct and warm assurances, materially changed the aspect of affairs. There was no alliance; there was no rebellion; the Totonacs dared not rebel without foreign support; with them Montezuma would settle presently. And with no little alacrity did he countermand the order for troops, and send an embassy to Cortés. Thus through the vacillating policy which now possessed the Mexican monarch was lost the opportunity to strike the enemy perhaps a fatal blow; and thus by that far off impalpable breath was fought and won another battle, this time vanquishing the king of kings himself, with his hundred thousand men.

The embassy sent comprised two of Montezuma's nephews,[4] accompanied by four old and honorable caciques. They were to express the monarch's thanks to the Spaniards, and to remonstrate against the revolt encouraged by their presence. He had become assured that they were of the race predicted by his forefathers, and consequently of his own lineage; out of regard for them, as guests of the revolted people, he would withhold present chastisement. A gift of robes and feather-work, and gold worth two thousand castellanos, accompanied the message.[5]

We cannot blame Cortés if his heart danced to its own music as he assured the envoys that he and all his people continued devoted to their master; in proof of which he straightway produced the other three

[4] 'Figiuoli porse del suo fratello Cuitlahuatzin.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 30.

[5] 'Ciertas pieças de oro y plata bien labradas, y vn casquete de oro menudo... Peso todo esto dos mil, y nouenta Castellanos.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 58.

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[6] Before the embassy
señor de Chianhuitzlan, qu
lib. v. cap. xi.

[7] *Ixtlilchotitl, Hist. Chic*

embark, a deputation appeared to protest against permitting any to depart, as a proceeding prejudicial to the service of God, and of the king. "Men who at such a moment, and under such circumstances, desert their flag deserve death." These were the words of Cortés put into the mouth of the speaker. Of course the order concerning the vessel was recalled, and the men of Velazquez were losers by the affair.[8]

The expedition, composed of four hundred soldiers, with fourteen horses, and the necessary carriers, then set off for Cempoala, where they were joined by four companies of two thousand warriors. Two days' march brought them close to Tizapantzinco, and the following morning they entered the plain at the foot of the fortress, which was strongly situated on a high rock bordered by a stream. Here stood the people prepared to receive them; but scarcely had the cavalry come in sight when they turned to seek refuge within the fort. The horsemen cut off their retreat in that direction, however, and leaving them, began the ascent. Eight chiefs and priests thereupon came forth wailing, and informed the Spaniards that the Mexican garrison had left at the first uprising of the Totonacs, and that the Cempoalans were taking advantage of this and of the Spanish alliance to enforce the settlement of a long-standing boundary dispute. They begged that the army would not advance. Cortés at once gave orders to restrain the Cempoalans, who were already plundering. Their captains were severely reprimanded for want of candor as to the real object of the expedition, and were ordered to restore the effects and captives taken. This strictness was by no means confined to them, for a soldier named Mora, caught by the general in the act of stealing

[8] One of them who had bartered a fine light-colored horse for some property in Cuba was unable to annul the trade, and thus lost his animal. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 34. Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 64, refers merely to murmurs in favor of Velazquez, which Cortés quiets by placing a few in chains for a time.

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[15] *Bernal Diaz, Hist.*
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[16] These proved the m
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dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. xi. S
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The flag-ship was prepared for the voyage, and the navigation intrusted to Alaminos and another pilot called Bautista, with fifteen sailors and the necessary outfit. Four Indians, rescued from the sacrificial cage at Cempoala, where they had been kept to fatten, were also sent on board, together with native curiosities, including specimens of picture-writing. The difficult task of out-manœuvring Velazquez and securing the aims of their party was intrusted to the alcaldes Puertocarrero and Montejo, the former being selected chiefly because of his high connections, which might serve him at court, the latter for his business talent. Three thousand castellanos were given them from the treasury for expenses, together with the necessary power and instructions, and three letters in duplicate for the king. One of these was the first of the celebrated letters of Cortés on the conquest. He related at length all that had occurred since he left Santiago; the difficulties with Velazquez, the hardships of the voyage, and the progress of conquest for God and the king. He dwelt on the vast extent and wealth of the country, and expressed the hope of speedily subjecting it to the crown, and of seizing the person of the great Montezuma. And he trusted that in return for his services and loyal devotion he would be remembered in the cédulas to be issued for this new addition to the empire.[21]

Carta del Ayunt. refers to four of Velazquez' men as objecting to the presents being sent elsewhere than to their leader. *Cortés, Cartas*, 26–7; *Tapia, Relacion*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 563; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. xiv.; *Torquemada*, i. 407; *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 118.

[21] No generous allusion appears to have been made to the discoverers who opened the way for him. Gomara alone gives a brief outline of the letter, but the original or copy has never been found, notwithstanding the close search made. Since Charles V. received it on the eve of his departure for Germany, it occurred to Robertson that the Vienna archives might throw on it some light, and the consequent search led to the discovery of an authenticated copy of the companion letter from the municipality of Villa Rica, but nothing relating to Cortés' report. *Hist. Am.*, preface, x.–xi. Panes insists that the letter must have existed in the Vienna Court Library at one time. *Doc. Domin. Esp.*, MS., 59–60. Barcia suggests several ways in which it might have been lost; one being its production before the royal council at the instance of Pánfilo de Narvaez. *Bibl. Occid.*, tit. iv. ii. 598. Fortunately the companion letter and other narratives cover its essential points.

The second letter was by the ayuntamiento of Villa Rica, dated July 10, 1519,[22] covering not only the same ground, but giving an account of the voyages of discovery by Córdoba and Grijalva, the reasons for founding a colony, and for Cortés' appointment. The features of the country, its resources and inhabitants, were touched upon, and the belief expressed that of gold, silver, and precious stones "there is in the land as much as in that where it is said Solomon took the gold for the temple." Velazquez was exposed as a cruel, dishonest, and incompetent governor, and as such most dangerous to be intrusted with the control of these vast and rich territories. They asked for an investigation to prove the charges, as well as the propriety of their own acts; and concluded by recommending that Cortés, whose character and conduct stamped him a loyal subject and an able leader, be confirmed in his offices, till the conquest of the country, at least, should have been achieved.[23]

The third letter, even longer than this, though of similar tenor, was signed by the representative men in the army,[24] and concluded by praying that their services and hardships be rewarded with grants, and that Cortés be confirmed in the government till the king might be pleased to appoint an infante or a grandee of the highest class, for so large and rich a country ought to be ruled by none else. Should the designing bishop of Búrgos of his accord "send us a

[22] 'El Cabildo escriuiò juntamente con diez soldados....ê iva yo firmado en ella.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 36.

[23] Written by Cortés' most devoted friends, and undoubtedly under his supervision, we cannot expect to find it other than a labored effort to promote his views. Robertson, whose suggestion led to its discovery in the Vienna Imperial Library, offers a mere syncpsis of the contents. *Hist. Am.*, preface, p. xi. ii. 521–2. It is given at length in the *Cortés, Cartas*, by Gayangos, Paris, 1866, 1–34, with notes, and with the list of presents appended; and in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 417–72, and in *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 2d app., 41–104, preceded by an introductory sketch of the expedition by the collector of the papers, and containing the list of presents as checked by Muñoz in 1784 from the Manual del Tesorero de la Casa de la Contratacion de Sevilla.

[24] 'Todos los Capitanes, y soldados juntamente escriuimos otra carta.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 36. 'El cabildo....escriuio....dos letras. Vna ....no firmaron sino alcaldes y regidores. La otra fue a cordada y firmada del cabildo y de todos los mas principales.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 63.

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ernor with his niece.[28] Detaining the messengers and their papers by deferred promises and other measures,[29] he filled the royal ear with the most damaging charges against them and their party in behalf of his protégé.

Velazquez had meanwhile been taking testimony against Cortés, and had sent treasurer Guzman to Spain with documents and instructions to join Martin in pressing his suit before the bishop.[30]

Charles V. had been elected emperor, and was busy in Spain raising supplies and making preparations on a vast scale for presenting an appearance in Germany befitting so high a dignity. Previous to embarking for Flanders he was to meet the cortes at Compostela. The messengers from New Spain could afford to lose no more time, and so with the aid of Puertocarrero's friends and the men opposed to Fonseca, among them the Licenciado Nuñez, relator of the royal council and related to Cortés, they slipped away, and in company with Alaminos and Martin Cortés, managed to be presented to the monarch at

[28] 'Doña Mayor de Fonseca. El obispo de Búrgos ... por la muerte del Gran Chanciller ... tornó á alear y á ser principal.' *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, v. 2; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. xi.; *Zúñiga, Anales Ecles. Sevilla*, 414.

[29] The bishop of Búrgos, then at Valladolid, spoke so harshly to Puertocarrero that the latter ventured to remonstrate, and demand that their messages be forwarded to the king. A charge was now raked up against Puertocarrero of having three years before carried off a woman from Medellin to the Indies, and for this he was cast into prison. *Bernal Diaz., Hist. Verdad.*, 38; *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 119.

[30] Guzman appears to have started in October from Cuba, when Narvaez' expedition against Cortés had already begun to be fitted out. *Carta de Velazquez*, Oct. 12, 1519, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 472–5; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 246–51; *Carta al Figueroa*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 402; *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, v. 2. His appeal to the Jeronimite Fathers, says Bernal Diaz, met only with rebuff. They considered that Cortés had done well to send so rich a present to the king. 'Le embiaron al Diego Velazquez â Cuba â vn Licenciado que se dezia Zuazo para que le tomasse residencia .... Uelazquez, se congoxó mucho mas, y como de antes era muy gordo, se paró flaco en aquellos dias.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 38. Martin petitioned the bishop for the repair and return of the messengers' vessel to Velazquez, together with another vessel, both to carry reinforcements to the Indies. This was needed, partly to prevent the possible conflict between Cortés' party and the expedition fitting out under Velazquez to support the men he had already sent under Cortés as his lieutenant. *Memorial*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 407–9.

Tordesillas, in the beginning of March.[31] The king was not a little pleased with the reports, gilded as they were with the richest presents that had as yet reached him from his American possessions,[32] but he was unfortunately too absorbed with the imperial crown and the preparations for departure to give more than a passing attention to the subject, and still less would he enter into the merits of the claims presented. Finding, however, that Fonseca had not been impartial in the matter, he was prevailed on to refer it to Cardinal Adrian, and the junta of prelates and ministers governing the kingdom during the royal absence, before whom the Council of the Indies had also to lay its reports. The messengers were meanwhile allowed under bond to receive from the seized funds what was needed for their support.[33] The powerful Fonseca managed, however, by misrepresentation and other means, to delay the case, and for about two years it dragged its weary length. And yet, where a man is strong enough to carve out his own fortune, particularly where the administration of strict justice might send his neck to the halter, the law's delay and its susceptibility to perversion may be most fortunate.

[31] *Sandoval, Hist. Carlos V.*, i. 203. 'Viniéronse con la corte hasta llegar á la Coruña, y en este camino los cognoscí yo.' *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 499; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. vii.

[32] In the Manual de la Casa de Contratacion de la Indias is noted that the Cempoala natives were presented to the king, at Tordesillas, in February, or March, 1520, and the presents at Valladolid in April. The Indians were sent to Cuba at the close of March, 1521, except one who had died. *Cortés, Cartas*, 34; *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 91–104.

[33] According to Bernal Diaz the bishop of Búrgos retained not only the original letters of the king, but a portion of the presents, which produced a sharp letter from Charles. The duplicate letters reached him, however. *Hist. Verdad.*, 38–9. This author is not well informed about the movements of the procuradores. He lets the king reach Flanders before they arrive, and there receive only the reports.

is often the first to suffer by it. It is not wise to sow dragons' teeth, and expect therefrom a happy harvest.

Now Diego Velazquez had all his life been sowing dragons' teeth, and hunting witches, and building guillotines, and brazen bulls. Starting from Spain in the guise of a noble old soldier, as he advertised himself, though some said of him that his sword was bloodless and his bravery bravado, he served the usual apprenticeship in the New World, chasing, and mutilating, and murdering, and enslaving natives, working to death on his plantations those saved for this most cruel fate. For this and similar service Diego Colon, then ruling the Indies at Española, sent him to Cuba to play governor there over those inoffensive and thrice unlucky savages. Fraud being native to his character, no sooner was he fairly seated than he repudiated his late master and benefactor, and reported directly to the king, even as his own captain of the Mexican expedition was now doing. Another of his guillotines was the vile treatment of Grijalva for not disobeying orders, on which score he could not complain against Grijalva's successor. Yet, as head and heart frosted with time the Cuban governor was not happy: misdeeds never bring true or lasting happiness. His bitterness, however, was but in the bloom; the full fruit of his folly would come only after the consummation of events upon the continent, grand as yet beyond conception. Ordinarily it is much easier to kill a man than to create one; in this instance it was extremely difficult to kill the man that he had made.

If among the New World cavaliers such a thing as poltroon or coward could be, Diego Velazquez was that thing, notwithstanding he had participated in so much fighting. Yet I do not call him coward, for my pen refuses to couple such a term with that of sixteenth-century Spaniard. Certain it is, however, that few men in those days preferred conquering new lands by deputy to winning glory in person, and

if this soldier and governor was not a coward, there was little of the manly or chivalrous in his bravery. He was cautious, yet frequently his cupidity overcame his caution; and when he adventured his gold—for he seldom risked his life, either for fame which he dearly loved, or for gold which he loved still dearer—it was under restrictions ruinous to almost any enterprise. In his ordinary mood he played fairly enough the statesman and hero, but in truth his statesmanship was superficial, and his heroism theatrical. Las Casas calls him a terrible fellow for those who served him, and Gomara says he had little stomach for expenditures. This much allowance, however, should be made in any statements of historians respecting the governor of Cuba: in their drama of the conquest Diego Velazquez plays the part of chief villain to the hero Hernan Cortés, when as a matter of fact Cortés was the greater villain of the two, principally because he was the stronger.

Even the priests praise Cortés, though many of his acts were treacherous; and timidity in a leader was accounted the most heinous of crimes. On the whole, I agree with Torquemada that the governor should have gone against Montezuma in person, if it was necessary he should go on such dastardly work at all; but we may be sure that Velazquez would not himself venture upon this sea of high exploit, though Æolus with a silver cord had tied up the winds in an ox-hide, as he did for Ulysses. And now from this time forth, and indeed from the moment the unrestrainable Estremaduran embarked defying him, the sulphurous fire of hatred and revenge burned constant in the old man's breast.

Never was villainy so great that if united with high station or ability it could not find supporters; for most men are rascals at heart in one direction or another. The pretty pair, Velazquez the governor, and Cortés the adventurer—so well pitted that the

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[1] The names vary somewh
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llevaban para el rey.' *Tapia*,
Martyr jumbles the names, d

rarest fortune he suddenly finds himself a commander of men, in a virgin field of enterprise fascinating beyond expression, and offering to the soldier possibilities excelled by nothing within the century. As the mind enlarges to take in these possibilities, the whole being seems to enlarge with it, the unstable adventurer is a thing of the past, and behold a mighty rock fills the place. Against it heads shall beat unprofitably. The momentous question of to be or not to be is forever determined; it is an affair simply of life now. Life and the power of which he finds himself possessed shall rise or fall together; and if his life, then the lives of others. No life shall be more precious to him than his own; no life shall be accounted precious at all that stands in the way of his plans. To a lady who complained of the burning of the Palatinate by Turenne, Napoleon answered: "And why not, madame, if it was necessary to his designs?" The Palatinate! ay, and a hundred million souls flung into the same fire, ere the one omnipotent soul shall suffer the least abridgment. It was a small matter, and he would do it; all the islands of the Western Inde he would uproot and fling into the face of the Cuban governor before he would yield one jot of his stolen advantage. Each for himself were Velazquez, Columbus, and Charles, and the rest of this world's great and little ones, and Cortés would be for himself. Henceforth, like Themistocles, though he would die for his country he would not trust her. Return to Cuba he well knew for him was death, or ignominy worse than death. His only way was toward Mexico. As well first as last. All the past life of Cortés, all his purposes for the future, concentred in these resolves to make them the pivot of his destiny. Cortés, master of kings, arbiter of men's lives! As for these traitors, they shall die; and if other impediments appear, as presently we shall see them appear, be they in the form of eye or right hand, they shall be removed. Tyrant, he might

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[2] Thus Cortés had
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Hist. Ind., iv. 496, whi
the bishop. Herrera
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v. cap. xiv. 'Coria, v
Verdad., 39.

[3] 'Embiado....por
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This seems unlikely, s
provide supplies.

became the wonder and admiration of the world. Destroy the ships! Cut off all escape, should such be needed in case of failure! Burn the bridge that spans time, and bring to his desperate desire the aid of the eternities! The thought of it alone was daring; more fearfully fascinating it became as Cortés dashed along toward Cempoala, and by the time he had reached his destination the thing was determined, and he might with Cæsar at the Rubicon exclaim, *Jacta est alea!* But what would his soldiers say? They must be made to feel as he feels, to see with his eyes, and to swell with his ambition.

The confession of the conspirators opened the eyes of Cortés to a fact which surely he had seen often enough before, though by reason of his generous nature which forgot an injury immediately it was forgiven, it had not been much in his mind of late, namely, that too many of his companions were lukewarm, if not openly disaffected. They could not forget that Cortés was a common man like themselves, their superior in name only, and placed over them for the accomplishment of this single purpose. They felt they had a right to say whether they would remain and take the desperate chance their leader seemed determined on, and to act on that right with or without his consent. And their position assuredly was sound; whether it was sensible depended greatly on their ability to sustain themselves in it. Cortés was exercising the arbitrary power of a majority to drive the minority as it appeared to their death. They had a perfect right to rebel; they had not entered the service under any such compact. Cortés himself was a rebel; hence the rebellion of the Velazquez men, being a rebelling against a rebel, was in truth an adherence to loyalty. Here as everywhere it was might that made right; and, indeed, with the right of these matters the narrator has little to do.

Success, shame, fear, bright prospects, had all lent their aid to hold the discontented in check, but in

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offered; if there be one here so base, so recreant to heaven, to his king, to his comrades, as to slink from such honorable duty, in God's name let him go. There is one ship left, which I will equip at my own charge to give that man the immortal infamy he deserves." This he said and much more, and to the desired effect. The speaker knew well how to play upon his men, as on an instrument, so that they would respond in any tune he pleased. Cheers rent the air as he concluded, in which the opposition were forced to join through very shame. Seeing which Cortés gently intimated, "Would it not be well to destroy the remaining vessel, and so make a safe, clean thing of it?" In the enthusiasm of the moment the act was consummated with hearty approval.[6]

[6] It is generally admitted that Cortés suggested the idea of destroying the fleet, for even Bernal Diaz, who at first gives the credit to the men by saying, 'le aconsejamos los que eramos sus amigos,' confesses on the following page that 'el mismo Cortès lo tenia ya concertado.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 39–40. The preponderating testimony also shows that the masters made their report in public, with the evident object, as the best authorities clearly indicate, of obtaining the consent of the responsible majority for the scuttling. During the partition of treasures at Mexico, large shares were set aside for Cortes and Velazquez to cover the cost of the fleet and the outfit, 'que dimos al traues con ellos, pues todos fuimos en ellos,' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 84, which is proof, in addition to the reliable assertion that the deed was agreed upon by the majority. Cortés' expression, 'los eché á la costa,' *Cartas*, 54, is merely that of a leader of that party or majority, who besides really gives credit to others. Hence the conclusion of Prescott and others, that the scuttling was done on his own responsibility, is not well founded. Cortés was clever enough always to have those present who were ready to take any responsibility for him that he might wish. The phrase, 'his was the greatest sacrifice, for they (the vessels) were his property,' *Prescott's Mex.*, i. 374, is also wrong, for he was compensated by the army. And it is an exaggeration to say that the execution of the measure 'in the face of an incensed and desperate soldiery, was an act of resolution that has few parallels in history,' *Id.*, 376, since his party supported him. According to Gomara the pilots bore holes in the vessels, and bring their report, whereupon five vessels are first sunk; shortly afterward the remainder except one are scuttled. The offer of this vessel to those who wished to return was made with a view to learn who were the cowards and malcontents. Many indeed did ask for leave, but half of them were sailors. Others kept quiet out of shame. *Hist. Mex.*, 65. It was never Cortés' policy to mark the disaffected, however. This author is followed by Torquemada, 'porque asi se ha platicado siempre entre las Gentes, que mas supieron de esta Jornada,' i. 409, and on the strength of this the latter argues that Herrera's version, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. xiv., which adheres chiefly to Bernal Diaz', must be wrong. Tapia, *Relacion*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 563, conforms chiefly to Gomara. Robertson, after following Bernal Diaz, takes the trouble of having the ships 'drawn ashore and.... broke in pieces.' *Hist. Am.*, ii. 33–4; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 35–6; *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, iii. 262; *Sandoval, Hist. Carlos V.*, i. 171; *Peter Martyr*, dec. v. cap. i. Peralta has them

"To Mexico!" was now the cry, and preparations for the march were at once made. Escalante, whose character and services had endeared him to Cortés,

burned by secret agents of Cortés. *Nat. Hist.*, 76. Solis, ever zealous for his hero, objects to Bernal Diaz' attempt to pluck any of the glory, and scouts the idea that fears of pecuniary liability could have influenced Cortés to gain the approval of others for his act. 'Tuvo á destreza de historiador el penetrar lo interior de las acciones,' is the complacent tribute to his own skill in penetrating the question. *Hist. Mex.*, i. 214–15. The view of the foundering fleet, appended to some editions of his work, has been extensively copied. One is given in the Antwerp edition of 1704, 141. A still finer view, with the men busy on shore, and the sinking vessels in the distance, is to be found in the Madrid issue of 1783, i. 213. The destruction of the fleet has been lauded in extravagant terms by almost every authority, from Gomara and Solis to Robertson and Prescott, as an unparalleled deed. Of previous examples there are enough, however, even though the motives and the means differ. We may go back to Æneas, to whose fleet the wives of the party applied the torch, tired of roaming; or we may point to Agathocles, who first fired his soldiers with a resolution to conquer or to die, and then compelled them to keep their word by firing the vessels. Julian offered a tamer instance during his campaign on the Tigris; but the deed of the terrible Barbarossa in the Mediterranean, only a few years before the Mexican campaign, was marked by reckless determination. Still examples little affect the greatness of an act; motives, means, and results afford the criteria. 'Pocos exemplos destos ay, y aquellos son de grandes hombres.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 65. 'Una de las acciones en que mas se reconoce la grandeza de su ánimo.... Y no sabemos si de su género se hallará mayor alguna en todo el campo de las Historias.' *Solis, Hist. Mex.*, i. 213. 'An effort of magnanimity, to which there is nothing parallel in history.' *Robertson, Hist. Am.*, ii. 34. 'Un' impresa, che da per se sola basterebbe a far conoscere la sua magnanimità, e ad immortalare il suo nome.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 35; Prescott, *Mex.*, i. 375–6, is equally carried away, and he finds more words for his admiration. He is wrong in supposing that one of the vessels in the harbor was left intact; the exempt ship referred to by a chronicler was the one carrying the messengers to Spain.

Antonio de Solis y Ribadeneyra is remarkable as the first Spanish historian of the conquest. It appears to us strange that an episode so glorious to the fame of Castilians should have been allowed to lie so long neglected in the musty pages of their chroniclers. True, these were worthy, zealous men, who conscientiously narrated every occurrence of any note, but their standard for historic truth and dignity caused them to clothe facts, however striking, in a garb of dreary gravity, dryness of detail, and ambiguous confusion, which discouraged even the student. It required the dramatic eye of the composer and the imagination of the poet to appreciate the picturesque sketches of a strange people now fading into oblivion, the grandeur of a semi-savage pageantry, the romantic exploits that recalled the achievements of the Cid. This faculty was innate in Solis, developed besides by a long and successful career in letters. He had profited also by the advantages opened to him as the secretary of Conde de Oropesa, Viceroy of Navarre and of Valencia, who Mæcenas-like fostered the talents and aided in the promotion of the promising savant, for as such he already ranked. Cradled in the famous college town of Alcalá de Henares, he had given early evidence of talent, and at Salamanca university he had signalized himself in his seventeenth year by producing a comedy of considerable merit. While pursuing with energy the study of law and moral philosophy, he cultivated with hardly less ardor the muses, to which end he was no doubt impelled also by his intimacy with the illustrious

was placed in command of Villa Rica. The native chiefs were directed to regard him as the representa-

Calderon. Several of his dramas were received with acclamation, and one was translated into French, while his miscellaneous poems, reprinted in our days, are marked by a vivid imagination and an elegance which also adorns his letters. Talents so conspicuous did not wait long for recognition, and with the aid of his patron he advanced to the dignities of royal secretary and chief chronicler of the Indies. When 56 years old his mind underwent a change, and entering the church he abandoned forever the drama and light literature. The pen changed only its sphere, however, for it served the historiographer zealously, achieving for him the greatest fame; and fame alone, for at his death, in April, 1686, at the age of 76, deep poverty was his companion. When he entered on this office the Indies had lapsed into the dormant quietude imposed by a strict and secluding colonial régime. There were no stirring incidents to reward the efforts of the historian, save those connected with free-booter raids, which offered little that could flatter Spanish pride. To achieve fame he must take up some old theme, and present it in a form likely to rouse attention by its contrast. Thus it was that he selected the thrilling episode of the conquest of Mexico, with the determination to rescue it from the unskilful arrangement and repetitions, the want of harmony and consistency, the dryness and faulty coloring, to which it had hitherto been subjected, and to expend upon it the effects of elegant style and vast erudition. When the work appeared at Madrid, in 1684, its superior merits were instantly recognized, and although the sale at first was not large, editions have multiplied till our day, the finest and costliest being the illustrated issue of 1783–4, in two volumes, which I quote, while consulting also the notes of several others. So grand and finely elaborated a subject, and that from a Spanish historian who was supposed to have exhausted all the available resources of the Iberian archives, could not fail to rouse general attention throughout Europe, and translations were made into different languages. Robertson, among others, while not failing to point out certain blemishes, has paid the high compliment of accepting Solis for almost sole guide on the conquest, and this with a blindness which at times leads him into most amusing errors. Even Prescott warms to his theme in a review of six closely printed pages, wherein eulogy, though not unmingled with censure, is stronger than a clearer comprehension of the theme would seem to warrant. But in this he is impelled to a great extent by his oft displayed tendency to hero worship.

Solis deserves acknowledgment for bringing order out of chaos, for presenting in a connected form the narrative of the conquest, and for adorning it with an elegant style. But he has fulfilled only a part of the promises made in his preface, and above all has he neglected to obtain information on his topic beyond that presented in a few of the generally accessible works, even their evidence being not very closely examined. He has also taken great liberties with the text, subordinating facts to style and fancy, seizing every possible opportunity to manufacture speeches for both native and Spanish heroes, and this with an amusing disregard for the consistency of language with the person and the time. His religious tendencies seriously interfere with calm judgment, and impel him to rave with bigoted zeal against the natives. The hero worship of the dramatist introduces itself to such an extent as frequently to overshadow everything else, and to misrepresent. 'Sembra più un panegirico, che una istoria,' says Clavigero, very aptly. *Storia Mess.*, i. 16. His arguments and deductions are at times most childish, while his estimation of himself as a historian and thinker is aired in more than one place with a ridiculous gravity. With regard to style, Solis had Livy for a model, and belonged to the elder school of historians; he was its last good representative, in fact. His language is expressive and elegant, greatly imbued with a poetic spirit not unsuited to the subject, and sustained in eloquence, while its pure idiom aids to maintain the work as classic among

tive of the general, and to supply him with every requirement.[7]

Some nine days after the sinking of the fleet a messenger arrived from Escalante, announcing that four vessels[8] had passed by the harbor, refusing to enter, and had anchored three leagues off, at the mouth of a river. Fearing the descent upon him of Velazquez, Cortés hurried off with four horsemen, after selecting fifty soldiers to follow. Alvarado and Sandoval were left jointly in charge of the army, to the exclusion of Ávila, who manifested no little jealousy of the latter. Cortés halted at the town merely to learn particulars, declining Escalante's hospitality with the proverb, "A lame goat has no rest." On the way to the vessels they met a notary with two witnesses,[9] commissioned to arrange a boundary on behalf of Francisco de Garay, who claimed the coast to the north as first discoverer, and desired to form a settlement a little beyond Nautla. It appeared that Garay, who had come out with Diego Colon, and had risen from procurador of Española

Castilians. 'Ingenio Conceptuoso, Floridisimo, i Eloquente,' is the observation in the work of his historiographic predecessor, Pinelo, *Epitome*, ii. 607. But it lacks in boldness and dignity; the rhapsodies are often misplaced, and the verboseness is tiresome. Some of the faults are of course due to the time, but not the many, and it also becomes only too apparent that Solis is so conceitedly infatuated with his affected grandiloquence as to sacrifice facts wherever they interfere with its free scope. It is said that he intended to continue the history of Mexico after the conquest, and that death alone prevented the consummation of the project. But this is mere conjecture, and it appears just as likely that the dramatist recognized the effect of closing a great work at so appropriate a point as the fall of Mexico. The work was taken up, however, by Salazar y Olarte, who published in 1743 the second part of the *Conquest*, till the death of Cortés, abounding in all the faults of the superficial and florid composition of Solis.

[7] 'Luego le zahumaron [the chiefs] al Juan de Escalante con sus inciensos.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 40. 'Dejé en la villa de la Veracruz ciento y cincuenta hombres con doze de caballo.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 52–3. One hundred and fifty Spaniards, with two horses and two fire-arms, were left here under Pedro de Ircio, *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 65–6, but Bernal Diaz corrects him. 'Al Pedro de Ircio no le auian dado cargo ninguno, ni aun de cuadrillero.' ubi sup.; *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 291. The force seems to be altogether too large. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 51, says 60 old and suffering soldiers were left as garrison.

[8] Bernal Diaz says one vessel; but Cortés and other authorities mention four.

[9] Bernal Diaz, who appears to have been with the party, names them as Guillen de la Loa, notary; Andrés Nuñez, shipwright; Pedro de la Arpa, a Valencian, and a fourth man. *Hist. Verdad.*, 40.

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[10] 'Armo Francisco de Gara
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[11] See *Hist. Mex.*, i. 29, this s
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CHAPTER XII.

MARCH TOWARD MEXICO.

AUGUST–SEPTEMBER, 1519.

ENTHUSIASM OF THE ARMY—THE FORCE—THE TOTONACS ADVISE THE TLASCALAN ROUTE—ARRIVAL AT JALAPA—A LOOK BACKWARD—THE ANÁHUAC PLATEAU—MEETING WITH OLINTETL—ARRIVAL IN THE COUNTRY OF THE TLASCALTECS—THE SENATE CONVENES AND RECEIVES THE ENVOYS OF CORTÉS—AN ENCOUNTER—A MORE SERIOUS BATTLE—XICOTENCATL RESOLVES TO TRY THE PROWESS OF THE INVADERS, AND IS DEFEATED.

THE Garay affair having thus been disposed of, it was announced to the Spaniards that they would now go in quest of the great Montezuma. For as the conciliating sea smooths the sand which but lately it ground in its determinate purpose from the rocks, so had Cortés quieted the ruffled temper of the malcontents, till they were committed as one man to the will of the leader. And he smiled somewhat grimly as he concluded his harangue: "To success or total destruction now we march; for there is open to us no retreat. In Christ we trust, and on our arms rely. And though few in number, our hearts are strong." The soldiers shouted their approval, and again signified their desire to press onward to Mexico.[1]

The force for the expedition consisted of about four hundred and fifty Spaniards, with fifteen horses, and six or seven light guns, attended by a considerable number of Indian warriors and carriers, including Cubans. The Totonac force comprised also forty chiefs, taken really as hostages, among whom

[1] 'Y todos â vna le respondimos, que hariamos lo que ordenasse, que echada estaua la suerte de la buena ò mala ventura.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 40.

are named Mamexi, Tamalli, and Teuch, the latter proving a most able and trusty guide and counsellor.[2]

The advice of the Totonacs is to take the route through Tlascala, as a state friendly to them and bitterly opposed to the Mexicans, and on the 16th of August the army leaves Cempoala for the interior. Soon begins the gentle ascent which lifts them from oppressive heat and overpowering vegetation to cooler

[2] Bernal Diaz states, 65, that on reaching Mexico City 'no llegauamos á 450 soldados,' intimating that they must have amounted to fully this figure on leaving Villa Rica. This would allow fully 120 men to Escalante, which appears a large garrison, even after making allowances for the old and infirm. Gomara places the force at 400 Spaniards, with 15 horses, 6 guns, and 1300 Indians, including Cubans and carriers. *Conq. Mex.*, 67; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. i.; *Torquemada*, i. 411, 517. Ixtlilxochitl increases this to 7 guns, 1300 warriors, and 1000 carriers. 'Con quince de caballo y trescientos peones.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 52. Cortés refers later on to 400 Cempoalans. He mentions merely 200 carriers. Clavigero has 415 Spaniards, a figure resulting from a misreading of his original. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 36. Solis, *Hist. Mex.*, i. 216–17, followed of course by Robertson, changes the figures to 500 men, 200 carriers, and 400 Indian troops. A page, twelve years old, was left with the lord of Cempoala to learn the language. 'Tomaron un indio principal que llamaban *Tlacochalcatl* para que los mostrase el camino,' taken from the country by Grijalva, and brought back by Cortés. *Sahagun, Conq. Mex.*, 16. Shortly before beginning the march, says Duran, a messenger arrived from Mexico in the person of Motelchiuh, sent by Montezuma to serve as guide, and to provide for the proper service and hospitality on the way. Being told that no guide was needed, he returned, leaving orders with the caciques en route to tender good reception to the strangers. *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 405–10.

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sun-painted birds a
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the broad plateau, w

[3] Meaning 'Spring in the S
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paign into Tlascala, and this
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productions, particularly for
neighboring districts for its e

named Teoxihuacan,[7] in no wise inferior to the first for strength or hospitality. They now finished the ascent of the cordillera, passed through Tejotla, and for three days continued their way through the alkaline wastes skirting the ancient volcano of Nauhcampatepetl,[8] exposed to chilling winds and hailstorms, which the Spaniards with their quilted armor managed to endure, but which caused to succumb many of the less protected and less hardy Cubans. The brackish water also brought sickness. On the fourth day the pass of Puerto de Leña,[9] so called from the wood piled near some temples, admitted them to the Anáhuac plateau, over seven thousand feet above the sea. With a less balmy climate and a flora less redundant than that of the Antillean stamping-ground, it offered on the other hand the attraction of being not unlike their native Spain. A smiling valley opened before them, doubly alluring to the pinched wanderers, with its broad fields of corn, dotted with houses, and displaying not far off the gleaming walls and thirteen towering temples of Xocotlan, the capital of the district. Some Portuguese soldiers declaring it the very picture of their cherished Castilblanço, this name was applied to it.[10]

Cacique Olintetl, nicknamed the temblador from the shaking of his fat body, came forth with a suite and escorted them through the plaza to the quarters assigned them, past pryamids of grinning human skulls, estimated by Bernal Diaz at over one hundred

[7] 'Hoy se nombra *Ixhuacán* de los Reyes.' *Lorenzana*, *Viaje*.

[8] 'De *Nauhcampa*, quatre parties, et *tepetl*, montagne.' *Humboldt*, *Vues*, ii. 191. Equivalent to the Spanish name of Cofre de Perote.

[9] Lorenzana believes it to be the later Sierra de la Agua. A map with profile of the route is given in *Carbajal Espinosa*, *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 201; and a still better map by Orozco y Berra, *Itinerario*, in *Noticias Mex.*, 233.

[10] The name must not be confounded with Zacatlan, as Ixtlilxochitl calls it, for this lies north of Tlascala. 'Este valle y poblacion se llama Caltanmi.' 'Tenia las mayores y mas bien labradas casas que hasta entonces.... habiamos visto.' *Cortés*, *Cartas* 58. Lorenzana says, 'the present Tlatlanquitepec,' in the lower lying portion of which stood the palace of Caltanni, 'house below;' and there stands the big tree to which the natives say that Cortés tied his horse. *Viaje*, pp. iii.–iv. 'Llamaso.... Zaclotan aquel lugar, y el valle Zacatami.' *Gomara*, *Hist. Mex.*, 68; *Oviedo*, iii. 260. Cocotlan. *Bernal Diaz*, *Hist. Verdad.*, 41.

zuma," replied the
anger, "shall speec
me gold or any oth

More generous
at the other end
golden trifles and
tions of the Cempc
wonderful power
paid them by Mo
making Olintetl a
least. Being ask
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erous, and devoted
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After a stay of
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Iztacmixtitlan, th
which Cortés desc
with very good ho
thousand families,
to those of Xocotl

[14] *Cortés, Cartas*, 59. Be
the Cempoalans to concili
jewelry, and a load of clot

[15] Camargo sends the le
bow, and a red silk cap.
Cortés would deprive hims
him, even if he had no obj
Hist. Verdad., 42–3, desp
this on hearing that the

[16] Still Gomara, in his
cruzes en los templos, derr
Mex., 70; *Tapia, Relacion*
warriors were taken from l

writes, "than there is in half Spain, defended by a wall, barbican, and moats." The cacique who had invited the visit made amends for the cold reception of the previous chief, and the Spaniards remained for three days waiting in vain for the return of the messengers sent to Tlascala. They then passed onward, reinforced by about three hundred warriors from the town.[17] Two leagues' march brought them to the boundary of Tlascala, conspicuous by a wall of stone and mortar nine feet in height and twenty in breadth, which stretched for six miles across a valley, from mountain to mountain, and was provided with breastworks and ditches.[18]

Between latitude 19° and 20° ranges of hills cut the plain of Anáhuac into four unequal parts. In the centre of the one eastward stood the capital of Tlascala. The state so carefully protected was about the same small territory which we now see on the map,[19] with twenty-eight towns, and one hundred and fifty thousand families, according to the rough census taken by Cortés.[20] A branch of the Teo-Chichimec nation, the Tlascaltecs had, according to tradition, entered upon the plateau shortly before the cognate Aztecs, and, after occupying for a time a tract on the western shore of Tezcuco Lake, they had tired of the constant disputes with neighboring tribes and proceeded eastward, in three divisions, the largest of which had, late in the thirteenth century, taken possession of Tlascala, 'Place of Bread.' The soil was rich, as implied by the name, but owing to the continued wars with former enemies, reinforced by the Aztecs, they found little opportunity to make available their wealth by means

[17] Clavigero calls them 'un competente numero di truppe Messicane del presidio di Xocotla,' *Storia Mess.*, iii. 41, which is unlikely.

[18] See *Native Races*, ii. 568, et seq.

[19] Fifteen leagues from west to east, ten from north to south, says Torquemada, i. 276. Herrera extends it to 30 leagues in width.

[20] 'Hay en esta provincia, por visitacion que yo en ella mandé hacer, ciento cincuenta mil vecinos.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 69. In the older edition of these letters by Lorenzana, it reads, 500,000 families, a figure which in itself indicates an exaggeration, but has nevertheless been widely copied. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 87.

of industries and trade, and of late years a blockade had been maintained which deprived them of many necessaries, among others salt. But the greater attention given in consequence to agriculture, had fostered temperate habits and a sinewy constitution, combined with a deep love for the soil as the source of all their prosperity. Compelled also to devote more time and practice to warfare for the preservation of their liberty than to the higher branches of culture, they presented the characteristics of an isolated community, in being somewhat behind their neighbors in refinement, as well as in the variety of their resources.

In government the state formed an aristocracy, ruled by a senate of the nobility, presided over by four supreme hereditary lords, each independent in his own section of the territory. This division extended also to the capital, which consisted of four towns, or districts, Tizatlan, Ocotelulco, Quiahuiztlan, and Tepeticpac, ruled respectively by Xicotencatl, Maxixcatzin, Teohuayacatzin, and Tlehuexolotl.[21]

It was before this senate that the messengers of Cortés appeared, informing them in the name of the Cempoalan lord of the arrival of powerful gods from the east, who having liberated the Totonacs from Montezuma's sway, now desired to visit Tlascala in passing through to Mexico, and to offer their friendship and alliance. The messengers recommended an acceptance of the offer, for although few in number the strangers were more than equal to a host. They thereupon depicted their appearance, their swift steeds, their savage dogs, their caged lightning, as well as their gentle faith and manners. The messengers having retired, the senate proceeded to discussion. Prudent Maxixcatzin, lord of the larger and richer industrial district, called attention to the omens and signs which pointed to these visitors, who from all

[21] For further information about Tlascala, see *Native Races*, ii. and v. Torquemada gives a detailed history of the state in i. 259–78. See also *Prescott's Mex.*, i. 411–19; *Soria, Istoria y Fundacion de la Ciudad de Tlaxcala*, MS. in Aztec, sm. 4° of 48 leaves.

As the Spaniards halted before the great wall, speculating on the strength of the people who had erected it, and upon the possible traps it might hide, their late hosts again besought them to take the Cholula route, but Cempoalan counsel prevailed. Waving aloft his banner, Cortés exclaimed: "Behold the cross! Señores, follow it!" And with this he led the way through the semicircular laps of the entrance. The wall was not provided with sentinels, and the army met with no obstacles.[23] Attended by ten horsemen, the general advanced to reconnoitre. After proceeding about four leagues he caught sight of fifteen armed Indians, who were pursued and overtaken. A fight ensued, in which the natives, nerved by despair, fought so fiercely that two horses were killed, and three horses and two riders wounded.[24] Meanwhile a

frequently absurd from the contradictions implied by other passages. Nor does he neglect to hold forth on his own people for their bravery and exploits in fighting the detested Aztecs, and their unswerving devotion to the Spaniards. In the pursuit of this pleasing theme he scruples not to sacrifice truth when it proves a stumbling-block. He leaves the impression, for instance, that the Tlascaltecs never raised sword against Cortés. Many of the misstatements are due to a non-critical acceptance of tales, for Camargo was as simple and superstitious as any of his contemporaries. Although acting as interpreter in the province, *Torquemada*, i. 523, he exhibits a not very thorough acquaintance with Spanish, which is the cause of errors and repetitions. The conquest forms but a portion of his narrative, which treats chiefly of aboriginal history and customs, and touches lightly the events that passed before his eyes. It was written in 1585, and lay for some time in the Felipe Neri convent archives, where it was consulted by Torquemada. Taken afterward by Panes to Spain, it was deposited by Muñoz with the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, from which source copies were obtained, among others one by Ternaux-Compans, and a faulty translation was published in the *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, xcviii.–ix.

[23] A short distance further they passed through a pine grove, wherein threads and papers were fixed and scattered across the path, the work of Tlascaltec sorcerers, who thus sought to cast a spell upon the invaders. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. iv.

[24] 'Segun algunos que lo vieron, cortaron cercen de vn golpe cada pescueco con riendas y todo.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 71. 'Io viddi che cõbattẽdosi vn dì, diede vn Indiano vna cortellata a vn cauallo....nel petto, che glielo aperse fin alle ĩteriora, et cadde icõtanẽte morto, &....che vn'altro Indiano diede vn'altra cortellata a vn'altro cauallo su il collo che se lo gettò morto.' *Relatione per vn gentil'huomo*, in *Ramusio, Viaggi*, iii. 305. According to Duran two warriors stepped forth from a vast Tlascalan army before the regular battle, and issued a challenge, which was accepted by two horsemen. After a short combat the Indians, by deft movements, killed both horses, cutting off the neck of one, and wounding the other in the pasterns. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 411–20; *Tezozomoc, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 255–6. This attack is the only resistance admitted by Camargo. The assailants were all Otomís, who killed one Spaniard and two horses. *Hist. Tlax.*, 146.

force of Indians came up, estimated at from three to five thousand, and a horseman was at once sent back to hurry forward the infantry, while the rest boldly charged the enemy, riding through their ranks, and killing right and left without being injured themselves. On the approach of the foot-soldiers, and the discharge of a volley, the natives retired with about sixty of their number slain.[25] Shortly afterward two of the Cempoalan messengers returned with some Tlascaltecs, who expressed their sorrow at the attack made by a tribe not belonging to their nation. They offered to pay for the horses killed, and invited the Spaniards in the name of the lords to proceed. The army advanced for a league into more open country, and camped among some abandoned farms, where dogs proved to be the only food left. Thus ended the first day in Tlascalan territory, the first of September, according to Bernal Diaz.

In the morning the Spaniards met the two other messengers returning from their mission to Tlascala, who told a harrowing story of their seizure for the sacrificial stone, and of their escape by night. It is probable that their detention by the Tlascaltecs for messenger purposes had frightened them into believing that they were destined to be sacrificed, for envoys enjoyed the greatest respect among the Nahuas.[26] Shortly after a body of over one thousand warriors[27] appeared, to whom Cortés, in presence of the notary Godoy, sent three prisoners, with a formal assurance of his friendly intentions. The

[25] 'Hirieron á quatro de los nuestros, y pareceme que desde alli á pocos dias muriò el vno de las heridas....quedaron muertos hasta diez y siete dellos.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 43; *Cortés, Cartas*, 61; Lorenzana calls the scene of this battle the plain of Quimichoccan. *Viage*, p. viii.

[26] See *Native Races*, ii. 413; *Solis, Hist. Mex.*, i. 230. According to Bernal Diaz the messengers are met before the Tlascalan border is reached, and they deliver the announcement that the Tlascaltecs will kill the Spaniards and eat their flesh, in order to test their reputed strength. The Cempoalans shall suffer the same fate, since they are assumed to be plotting in behalf of the Aztecs. loc. cit. Sahagun supposes that the Cempoalan guide had treacherously led the Spaniards against the Otomis. *Conq. Mex.* (ed. 1840), 40; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 42-3.

[27] Bernal Diaz says 6000.

only reply being showers of arrows, darts, and stones, Cortés gave the "Santiago, and at them!" and charged. The enemy retreated with the face to their pursuers, enticing them toward some broken ground intersected by a creek, where they found themselves surrounded by a large force, some bearing the red and white devices of Xicotencatl. Missiles were showered, while double-pointed spears, swords, and clubs pressed closely upon them, wielded by bolder warriors than those whom the Spaniards had hitherto subdued. Many were the hearts that quaked, and many expected that their last moment had come; "for we certainly were in greater peril than ever before," says Bernal Diaz. "None of us will escape!" exclaimed Teuch, the Cempoalan chief, but Marina who stood by replied with fearless confidence: "The mighty God of the Christians, who loves them well, will let no harm befall them."[28] The commander rode back and forth cheering the men, and giving orders to press onward, and to keep well together. Fortunately the pass was not long, and soon the Spaniards emerged into an open field, where the greater part of the enemy awaited them, estimated in all, by different authorities, at from thirty thousand to one hundred thousand.[29]

How long was this to continue, each new armed host being tenfold greater than the last? Yet once again the Spaniards whet their swords, and prepare for instant attack, as determined to fight it out to the death, as Leonidas and his brave Spartans at the pass of Thermopylæ. The cavalry charged with loose reins, and lances fixed on a range with the heads of the enemy, opening a way through the dense columns and spreading a confusion which served the

[28] *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. v. A pious conquistador who was present, says Duran, told me that many wept, wishing they had never been born, and cursing the marquis for having led them into such danger. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 417.

[29] Tapia gives the higher and Herrera the lower figure, while Ixtlilxochitl makes it 80,000.

the Spaniards stood almost unscathed, and Wilson ridicules the whole campaign, reducing the Tlascalan population, for instance, to about ten thousand, with a fighting force of less than one thousand men. Such remarks certainly show a want of familiarity with the subject.[31] We have often seen, in the New World wars, a thousand naked Americans put to flight by ten steel-clad Europeans, and I have clearly given the reasons. When we look at the Indians, with their comparatively poor weapons, their unprotected bodies, their inefficient discipline and tactics, whereby only a small portion of their force could be made available, the other portion serving rather as an obstruction, their custom of carrying off the dead, and other weak points, and when we contrast them with the well

[31] *Robertson, Hist. Am.*, ii. 38–9; *Wilson's Conq. Mex.*, 360–70; *Benzoni, Hist. Mondo Nvovo*, 51. It is seldom that I encounter a book which I am forced to regard as beneath censure. He who prints and pays the printer generally has something to say, and generally believes something of what he says to be true. An idiot may have honest convictions, and a knave may have talents, but where a book carries to the mind of the reader that its author is both fool and knave, that is, that he writes only foolishness and does not himself believe what he says, I have not the time to waste in condemning such a work. And yet here is a volume purporting to be *A New History of the Conquest of Mexico*, written by Robert Anderson Wilson, and bearing date Philadelphia, 1859, which one would think a writer on the same subject should at least mention. The many and magnificent monuments which to the present day attest the great number and high culture of the Nahua race, and the testimony to this effect offered by witnesses on all sides, are ignored by him with a contempt that becomes amusing as the pages reveal his lack of investigation and culture. Indeed, the reader need go no further than the introduction to be convinced on the latter point. Another amusing feature is that the work pretends to vindicate the assertions of Las Casas, who, in truth, extols more than other Spanish author the vast number and advanced culture of the natives. In addition to this mistaken assumption, which takes away his main support, he states that Prescott worked in ignorance of his subject and his authorities, and to prove the assertion he produces wrongly applied or distorted quotations from different authors, or assumes meanings that were never intended, and draws erroneous conclusions. Thus it is he proves to his own satisfaction that Mexico City was but a village occupied by savages of the Iroquois stamp, and that Cortés was the boastful victor over little bands of naked red men. As for the ruins, they were founded by Phœnician colonists in remote ages. Another tissue of superficial observations, shaped by bigotry and credulous ignorance, was issued by the same author under the title of *Mexico and its Religion*, New York, 1855, most enterprisingly reprinted in the disguise of *Mexico: its Peasants and its Priests*, New York, 1856. In common with Mr Morgan, and others of that stamp, Mr Wilson seems to have deemed it incumbent on him to traduce Mr Prescott and his work, apparently with the view of thereby attracting attention to himself. Such men are not worthy to touch the hem of Mr Prescott's garment; they are not worthy of mention in the same category with him.

armored Spaniards, with their superior swords and lances, their well calculated movements, and their concerted action carried out under strict and practised officers, and above all their terror-inspiring and ravaging fire-arms and horses—how can we doubt that the latter must have readily been able to overcome vast numbers of native warriors? It was soon so understood in Europe. For once when Cortés was in Spain he scoffed at certain of his countrymen for having fled before a superior force of Moors, whereupon one remarked: "This fellow regards our opponents like his, of whom ten horsemen can put to flight twenty-five thousand." In the retreat of the Ten Thousand, who under Cyrus had invaded Persia, we have an example of the inadequacy of numbers against discipline. Though for every Greek the Persians could bring a hundred men, yet the effeminate Asiatic absolutely refused to meet the hardy European in open conflict. Æschylus was inspired by personal experience in his play of the Persians when he makes the gods intimate to the wondering Atossa, the queen-mother, that free Athenians, unwhipped to battle, could cope successfully with the myriads of despotic Xerxes. The poor Americans had yet to learn their own weakness, and to pay dearly for the knowledge.

"It well seems that God was he who fought for us to enable us to get free from such a multitude," says Cortés. He attempted no pursuit, but hastened to take possession of Tecohuatzinco, a small town on the hill of Tzompachtepetl,[32] where they fortified themselves upon the temple pyramid, and proceeded to celebrate the victory with songs and dances, a performance wherein the allies took the leading part.

[32] *Lorenzana, Viage*, ix., wherein the appearance of the hill is described as the bishop saw it. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 292; *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 146. Other authors differ. '*Teoatzinco*, cioè il luogo dell'acqua divina.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 44. Duran assumes that the battle was for the possession of this place, which he calls Tecoac. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 418, 422; *Tezozomoc, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 256. 'Aldea de pocas casas, que tenia vna torrezilla y tēplo.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 74.

The following day[33] Cortés sallied forth with the horses, one hundred infantry, and seven hundred allies, partly to forage before the enemy appeared, but also to inflict some damage, and to show that they were as fresh as ever. "I burned five or six small villages," he says, "each of about one hundred families, and returned with four hundred prisoners."[34] After being consoled with food and beads, the captives, including fifteen taken during the late battle, were despatched to the camp of Xicotencatl, two leagues off, with a letter to serve as credentials, and a message assuring him of the friendly intentions of the Spaniards, although they had been obliged to resort to severe measures. By no means impressed either with his defeat or with the assurances, Xicotencatl replied that peace would be celebrated at his father's town with a feast on the Spaniards' flesh, while their hearts and blood were delighting the gods. They would receive a more decisive answer on the morrow. With this defiant message came the report that the Tlascalan army, largely reinforced, was preparing to march on and overwhelm them. "When we learned this," says Bernal Diaz, "being men, we feared death, many of us; and all made confession to the Merced father, and the clergyman Juan Diaz, who all night remained present to listen to the penitent; and we commended ourselves to God, praying that we might not be conquered." Cortés applied himself energetically to supervise preparations and give the enemy a welcome. A fresh supply of arrows, and of Indian shields of plaited cane and cotton, were made, and the arms and accoutrements inspected. He impressed upon the soldiers the necessity of keeping close together, round the banner to be carried well aloft by Alférez Corral, in order that they might not be cut off. As for the cavalry they

[33] So Cortés distinctly says. Bernal Diaz writes, however, that this day was devoted to rest. Still, a later observation indicates that Cortés is right.

[34] *Id.* Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 44, admits only twenty captives, and blames the allies for firing the villages; but Cortés is frank enough about it.

ents of food in order to obtain an opportunity for h
spies to examine the camp.[38]

The Indians advanced in several columns up tl
sides of the hill, and, despite the resistance offere
pressed onward into the very camp, but were soo
obliged to yield before murderous bullets and cuttir
blades. Cortés allowed the Indians to become tire
and discouraged with repeated charges, and then wi
a ringing "Santiago!" the Spaniards, followed by tl
allies, sallied forth,[39] driving them in confusion to tl
plain, where the cavalry followed up the advantag
leaving bloody paths in all directions. Checked ar
reinforced by the reserve, the enemy turned wi
fresh courage on their pursuers. The shock was ove
whelming. The tired Castilians yielded; their ranl
were broken, and all seemed lost. Even Cortés w
seized with a terrible misgiving, but it was only f
a moment. Leading the cavalry to the rescue, l
raised his voice above the din of battle, and calle
on all to rally. Nerved by his words and deeds, tl
men plied lustily their swords, and, driving back tl
enemy, formed anew. "So ably and valiantly fougl
the horsemen," writes Bernal Diaz, "that next
God who protected us, they proved our strength
Following up their advantage, the Spaniards hewe
down the enemy in great numbers.

Victory might yet have turned against them bu
for a quarrel between Xicotencatl and another ca

[38] He was detected in this trick afterward. 'Lo qual fue gran refrige
y socorro para la necesidad que tenian.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 76. Ovie
increases the gift to 700 baskets. iii. 495. Gomara proceeds to relate that
sign of contempt for the small number of the enemy, whom it could be
honor for his large army to overcome, Xicotencatl detached 2000 warriors
200 says Oviedo—to seize and bring him the strangers bound. They
tacked, and were routed with an almost total destruction of their numb
'No escapo hombre dellos, sino los q̃ acertaron el passo de la barranca.' l
cit. 76.

[39] Bernal Diaz states that they did not wait for the enemy to attack, b
marched forth and met them one eighth of a league from camp. *Hist. Verda*
45. But Cortés says distinctly, 'Otro dia en amaneciendo dan sobre nuest
real mas de ciento y cuarenta y nueve mil hombres.' *Cartas*, 62. Gomara a
Herrera also allow Indians to attack the camp first. Cortés is too fond
announcing when he takes the initiative to have failed to say so had he do
it in this case.

tain,[40] one accusing the other of mismanaging the late battle. The latter not only challenged the other, it seems, but withdrew his troops, and induced another division to follow him.[41] Thus left with only half his army, and that shattered and discouraged, Xicotencatl retired before the handful on whom his every effort seemed to have made no impression. He retreated in good order, carrying off most of the dead, for the opponents were too exhausted to pursue. Indeed, all the horses were wounded, and fully sixty men, of whom it appears several must have died soon after, though Cortés admits of no dead, and Bernal Diaz of only one.[42]

[40] 'Son of Chichimeclatecle,' says Bernal Diaz, a name which should read Chichimeca-tecuhtli.

[41] That of Guaxolcingo—meaning Huexotzinco. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 45. That of Tlehuexolotzin. *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 46. Solis exaggerates this into an actual battle between the leaders and their followers. *Hist. Mex.*, i. 255–8. Herrera intimates that a secret arrangement had been formed between Cortés and the seceding captain, the latter appearing with his officers at the camp, the evening after the previous battle, and, declaring himself convinced that the Spaniards were invincible, offered not only to remain neutral, but to aid them in entering Tlascala. Cortés agreed. When the captain returned to Xicotencatl's camp he was so badly beaten that he came back to Cortés for medical treatment. Certain signs were to be worn, so that the Spaniards might respect the neutral troops. dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. vi. He also relates that one Tlascaltec maintained himself so long and bravely against two Spanish soldiers that Láres, the smith, rushed up, cried shame upon the twain, and lanced the warrior. *Id.*, cap. vii.

[42] This soldier himself received two wounds, which did not prevent him from fighting, however. 'Nos mataron vn soldado,' he says, and a few lines further down, 'y enterramos los muertos....porque no viessen los Indios que eramos mortales.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 45. Thus even the 'True Historian' reveals the common weakness. *Hazart, Kirchen-Geschichte*, ii. 512–14; *West-Indische Spieghel*, 224–35; *Franck, Weltbuch*, ccxxix.

CHAPTER XIII.

ENTRY INTO TLASCALA.

SEPTEMBER, 1519.

NATIVE CHIEFS SENT AS ENVOYS TO THE TLASCALAN CAPITAL—THEIR FAVORABLE RECEPTION—XICOTENCATL PLANS RESISTANCE TO CORTÉS—SENDS OUT SPIES—CORTÉS SENDS THEM BACK MUTILATED—THE SPANIARDS ATTACK AND DEFEAT XICOTENCATL—NIGHT ENCOUNTERS—GENERAL DISSATISFACTION AND A DESIRE TO RETURN TO VILLA RICA—ENVOYS ARRIVE FROM MONTEZUMA—CORTÉS RECEIVES XICOTENCATL AND THE TLASCALAN LORDS—PEACE CONCLUDED—TLASCALA—FESTIVITIES AND REJOICINGS—MASS CELEBRATED—CORTÉS INCLINED TO EXTREME RELIGIOUS ZEAL—BRIDES PRESENTED TO THE SPANIARDS—APPROPRIATE CEREMONIES—PREPARING TO LEAVE TLASCALA FOR CHOLULA—COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE CHOLULTECS.

IN the late battle three chiefs had been captured, and they together with two others were sent, this time to the Tlascalan capital direct, to carry an offer of peace, and to explain that the Spaniards would not have harmed their warriors had they not been obliged to do so. If peace was still declined they would come and destroy them all. Meanwhile Cortés set out on another foraging and raiding expedition, and "burned more than ten towns, one exceeding three thousand houses," retiring by the early afternoon, when the Indians began to gather in aid of the raided neighbors.[1]

Tired of the fruitless fighting, attended with loss of life and property only to themselves as it appeared, the peace party in Tlascala had been gaining the ascendancy, with the efforts of Maxixcatzin, sup-

[1] *Cortés, Cartas*, 62–3. According to Gomara the Indians pursued to the very camp, where they were defeated with great slaughter, after five hours' fighting. *Hist. Mex.*, 76–7.

ported as he now was by the powerful factions which had quarrelled with the general. When the peace messengers of Cortés arrived they were therefore received with favor. His previous friendly offers were considered, also his kind treatment of captives, so unusual with the natives, and the oracles and signs of a coming race of rulers. Whether gods or men, they were evidently invincible, and the friendship and alliance held out by them must be desirable, and ought to be secured before the strangers, embittered by further resistance, should pass on to join their enemies. An embassy, headed by Costomatl and Tolinpanecatl,[2] was accordingly despatched with provisions and some other trifling gifts to open negotiations for peace. Humbly these men appeared before Cortés, expressing the sorrow of the lords for the hostility shown, and their desire for peace. With a grave reproval for their obstinacy, Cortés said that he would admit their apology, and the envoys departed, after leaving beside the other gifts a number of male and female slaves.[3]

Smarting under the disgrace of his defeats, Xicotencatl had meanwhile been laying plans to retrieve himself. Among other counsellors he had summoned diviners to his aid, and they, calling to mind the assumption that the Spaniards were children of the sun, declared that as such the new-comers were invincible only when animated by its beams, and at night, when deprived of this invigorating power, they became mortals, who must bow to superior force. Knowing the strength of the party opposed to him in the Tlascalan capital, he does not appear to have submitted his projects there, but to have ventured upon detaining the envoys as they were returning

[2] *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 146. Duran gives a short speech, delivered in the council-chamber. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 422-3.

[3] Cortés places the arrival of this embassy on the day following the raiding of the ten towns, *Cartas*, 63; but Bernal Diaz at a later date. He makes the envoys four in number, and allows them, in returning, to instruct the neighboring settlements to furnish supplies to the Spaniards, all of which Xicotencatl prevents. *Hist. Verdad.*, 47-8, 50, 55.

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[5] According to Gomara,
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understood by a people so deeply intent upon war and sacrifices. This was to cut off the hands of the leading spies, and the thumbs of others, and to send them back with the message that this would be the punishment of spies, and that the Spaniards were prepared, night or day, to face their enemies.[6]

Fearing the confusion and danger of a night attack, when the artillery and other means would be less effective, Cortés resolved to anticipate the enemy by a counter charge, wherein the cavalry might render particular service. Learning that Xicotencatl was hidden with ten thousand or twenty thousand men behind a hill not far off, Cortés did not despatch the mutilated spies till after dusk, in order to let him approach nearer to camp.[7] When his messengers returned to Xicotencatl and displayed their bleeding stumps, the general was troubled, and throughout his army there was consternation, and numbers of warriors declared openly that it was useless to fight men who not only appeared to be invincible, but who could read their very intentions. While in this state of

[6] 'Los mandé tomar á todos cincuenta y cortarles las manos,' says Cortés, *Cartas*, 63; but the phrase may be loose, for Bernal Diaz specifies only seventeen as sent back with hands or thumbs cut off. *Hist. Verdad.*, 49. 'El marques les hizo á algunos de ellos contar (*sic pro* cortar) las manos.' *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 570. 'Mandò cortar las manos a siete dellos, y a algunos los dedos pulgares muy contra su voluntad.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. viii. Gomara places this occurrence on the 6th of September, but it is most likely later, and makes the spies a different party from those bringing the slaves and feathers, who arrive on the preceding day. *Hist. Mex.*, 77–8. Bernal Diaz accounts for this difference by stating that the party had been in camp since the previous day. Robertson reverses the order by assuming that mutilation of the spies so perplexes the Indians that they send the men with the slaves and feathers to ask whether they are fierce or gentle gods, or men. He does not understand why so many as 50 spies should have been sent, but had he read Cortés' letter more closely, he would have divined the reason, that they intended to fire the camp, and otherwise aid in the attack. He stigmatizes as barbarous the mutilation, *Hist. Am.*, ii. 42, 451, but forgets, in doing so, that the Spanish conquerors belonged to an age when such deeds were little thought of. Spies even now suffer death, and the above punishment may therefore be regarded as comparatively lenient, particularly by a people who daily tore out the heart from living victims. The mutinous pilot of Villa Rica had his life spared, but lost his feet. Cortés, as the captain of a small band, was obliged to conform to his age and surroundings in the measures taken for its safety.

[7] 'En yendo se las espias, vieron de nuestro real como atrauessaua por vn cerro grandissima muchedumbre de gente, y era la que traya Xicotencatl.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 79.

demoralization they were startled by the jingling of bells and the tramp of the dreaded horses, magnified by their fears and by the weird moonlight into a host. The next moment the Spaniards announced their presence by a ringing "Santiago!" and, undeterred by the few stray and feeble volleys of stones and arrows sent against them, they rode into the crowds of natives already in full flight, slashing and riding down in all directions.[8]

After this lesson Xicotencatl appears to have made no further attempts to molest the Spaniards, although small skirmishing parties, chiefly Otomís, continued to hover round the camp and give the soldiers opportunities for sallies. Gomara magnifies these skirmishes into daily attacks on the camp by the army, whose divisions take turns so as not to embarrass one another. This caused them to fight better, partly from a spirit of rivalry to surpass the preceding record. The ambition of the natives was to kill one Spaniard at least, but the object was never attained, so far as they knew. This continued for a fortnight, and daily came also messengers with food to sustain the strangers.[9]

[8] *Cortés, Cartas*, 63–4; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 78–9; *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 569; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. viii. Bernal Diaz describes a night attack with 10,000 warriors, made a few days before, in which the Spaniards drive back the Indians and pursue them, capturing four, while the morning revealed twenty corpses still upon the plain. Two of the diviners appear to have been sacrificed for their bad advice. He now reappears with 20,000 men, but on meeting the mutilated spies he becomes disheartened, and turns back without attempting a blow. *Hist. Verdad.*, 46, 49–50. He is the only authority for two night expeditions. Having already been defeated in one night attack, Xicotencatl would be less likely to attempt a second, particularly since nocturnal movements were contrary to Indian modes of warfare. Cortés distinctly intimates that the present occasion was the first attempt at a night raid. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 291.

[9] He begins to suspect that their object may also have been to spy. Cortés was suffering from fever at this time, and one night he took pills, a course which among the Spaniards involved the strictest care and seclusion from affairs. Early in the morning three large bodies of Indians appeared, and regardless of his pills Cortés headed the troops, fighting all day. The following morning, strange to say, the medicine operated as if no second day had intervened. 'No lo cuēto por milagro, sino por dezir lo que passo, y que Cortes era muy sufridor de trabajos y males.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 80. But Sandoval assumes 'que sin duda fue milagro.' *Hist. Carlos V.*, i. 173. Solis applies this story to the night attack, which seems plausible, and smiles phil-

ceed to Tlascala to urge upon the lords the necessity for accepting peace. Before returning, Cortés ascended a hill, and thence saw the capital, with its surrounding villages. "Behold," he said to those who had objected to his leniency with the towns, "what boots it to have killed these people, when so many enemies exist over there?"[12]

Although left in comparative peace for some days, the end of the campaign seemed to the Spaniards as remote as ever. The harass and hardship of their life, the vigils, the cold nights, the scanty supplies, the absence of salt, medicine, and many other necessaries, all this was severely felt, particularly since so large a number were either sick or wounded, including Cortés and Padre Olmedo.[13] The ailments and wounds were as a rule slight, yet they helped to magnify dangers, and to dim every cheerful aspect. The very cessation of regular hostile demonstrations

[12] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 80–1. According to Herrera, Alcalde Mayor Grado counselled Cortés, on seeing this populous country, to return to Villa Rica and send to Velazquez for aid. Deeply grieved at such advice, the general remarked that the very stones would rise against them if they retreated. dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. viii.; *Cortés, Cartas*, 64–5. Bernal Diaz places this raid before the final night attack. *Hist. Verdad.*, 47; *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 568–9.

[13] 'Nos vimos todos heridos â dos, y â tres heridos, y muy cansados, y otros dolientes....y faltauan ya sobre cincuenta y cinco soldados que se auian muerto en las batallas, y dolencias, y frios, y estauan dolientes otros doze.' *Bernal Diaz*, 46. Prescott, i. 458, is careless enough to accept this verbally, but the run of the text here and elsewhere indicates that the sentence is rather figurative. The last four words, 'twelve others were on the sick-bed,' indicate that only three per cent. were laid low, and that the general health and condition must therefore have been tolerably good. This also indicates that the 55 missing soldiers could not have died since they left Vera Cruz, as certain writers assume. The only obstacles under which the soldiers could have succumbed in any number were the several battles with the Tlascaltecs, wherein the total number of the wounded nowhere foots up to more than 100. Of these 50 per cent. could not have died, to judge from the warfare engaged in, and from the very few, a couple at the most, it is said, who fell on the field. Nor could diseases have killed many during a month's march through a fine and fertile country, for the passage of the Cofre de Perote did not affect the Spaniards seriously. Hence it must be assumed that the 55 dead include the 35 who fell out of the ranks ere the army reached Villa Rica. This leaves, say, fifteen casualties for the present expedition since it left Villa Rica, and that appears to be a fair proportion. The only one who rightly interprets Bernal Diaz on this point appears to be Torquemada, who says, 'desde que salieron de Cuba, se avian muerto cinquenta y cinco Castellanos.' i. 428. The old soldier confirms the interpretation by stating in more than one place that the Spaniards numbered 450, or nearly so, on entering Mexico City. ubi sup., 65, 109.

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[14] Gomara gives a long
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Solis, Hist. Mex., i. 259–6

[15] Surnamed Tlachpan
Veytia, Hist. Ant. Méj., ii

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[19] Solis causes him to be di
Mex., i. 272–3. In *Carbajal*
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[20] It is generally accepted
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[24] Cortés gives only hi
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[25] After an absence of
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Hist. Verdad., 52. The e
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[26] 'Todos los señores m
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Hist. Mex., 86. Bernal I
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[30] *Cortés, Cartas*, 6
[31] Now Atoyac.
[32] Cortés proceeds
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[38] Camargo calls it a rich
[39] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Ver*
[40] According to the some
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He thereupon proceeded to expound to them the doctrines of his faith and contrast them with the impure, cruel, and bloody rites practised by them. This was ably interpreted by Marina and Aguilar, who were by this time expert in preaching, and the cross and virgin image were produced to illustrate the discourse. The lords answered that they believed the Christian's God must be good and powerful, since he was worshipped by such men, and they were willing to accord him a place by the side of their idols;[41] but they could not renounce their own time-honored and benevolent deities. To do so would be to create an uprising among the people, and bring war and pestilence from the outraged gods. Cortés produced further arguments, only to be told that in time they would better understand the new doctrines, and might then yield, but at present their people would choose death rather than submit to such sacrilege.

Finding that the religious zeal of Cortés threatened to overcome his prudence, Padre Olmedo hastened to interpose his counsel, representing the danger of losing all that their valor and perseverance had gained if they pressed so delicate a subject with a superstitious and warlike people as yet only half gained over. He had never approved of forcible conversion, and could see no advantage in removing idols from one temple when they would be sure to rise in another. Indeed, persecution could only tend to root idolatry more deeply in the heart. It were better to let the true faith work its way into the appreciation of the people, as it would be sure to do if the natives were given an opportunity to contrast their bloody rites with the religion of Christ, provided the Spaniards would themselves follow the precepts of love and gentleness they were commending to the Indians. The success of the conquest owes much to Olmedo, whose heart, like Las Casas', warmed for the benighted Indians, to him wayward children who must be won by moder-

[41] A not uncommon practice in Mexico, carried out in the same manner as among the Romans. See *Native Races*, iii., passim.

ation. Like a guardian angel he rose in defence of his flock, saving at the same time the Spaniards from their own passions.[42] Alvarado, Velazquez de Leon and others, who had no desire to witness a repetition of the Cempoalan iconoclasm, supported the father in his counsel, and Cortés agreed to content himself for the present with having an appropriate place set aside in the temple for an altar and a cross.[43] And upon this cross, say the credulous chroniclers, a white radiant cloud, in form of a whirling pillar, descended at night from the sky, impressing the natives with the sacredness of the symbol, and guarding it till the conquest had established the faith in the land.[44] The Spaniards succeeded further in abolishing human sacrifices, and the fattening-cages being torn down, a large number of intended victims sought refuge in their camp, lauding their doctrines and aiding not a little to pave the way for conversion.[45]

The inaugural mass for the new altar was followed by the baptism of the brides, the daughters and nieces of the lords being the first to undergo the ceremony.

[42] Portrait in *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 165, and *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, ii. 514.

[43] 'En aquel templo adonde estaua aposentado, se hiziesse vn capilla.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. xv. A new temple near by was set aside for this. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 54. 'Hizo la sala principal de Xicotencatl Oratorio.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 294. 'Hizo una iglesia en una casa de un ídolo principal.' *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 572–3. This author does not intimate that Cortés sought to force conversion, Bernal Diaz alone being responsible for the statement, though Herrera adopts it. Eager to remove the reproach of infidelity from his people, Camargo relates that Cortés insisted on the renunciation of idolatry, and that the chiefs finally yielded, while placing upon him the responsibility of removing the images. When the iconoclasm began, the people hastened to hide their cherished idols, which they long worshipped in secret, although accepting baptism. *Hist. Tlax.*, 150–8. In a hieroglyphic painting still possessed by the cabildo, says Ixtlilxochitl, it is shown that the lords were at this time baptized. He gives their new names. *Hist. Chich.*, 294.

[44] 'Durò tres, ó quatro años.' *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 304; *Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 78; *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 140; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. xv. Solis dwells upon the spiritual effect of the miracle, which occurred immediately after the departure from Tlascala. *Hist. Mex.*, i. 324–5. Torquemada devotes a whole chapter to it, and states that the first cross was raised by unseen hands the night after the arrival of the Spaniards in the city. The high-priest placed over it a guard, who was surprised by a celestial light which appeared at midnight and drove out the demon from the temple. iii. 200–3.

[45] 'Lo primero que mandaua nuestro Capitan era quebralles las tales carceles, y echar fuera los prisioneros.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 55.

Cortés pleading that he was already married, Tecuilhuatzin, the daughter of Xicotencatl, destined for him, was at his request given to Alvarado, his brother and captain as he proclaimed him, and blessed with the name of Luisa, while her sister Tolquequetzaltzin, baptized as Lucía, was conferred on the brother, Jorge de Alvarado. Maxixcatzin's niece Zicuetzin, a pretty girl, was named Elvira and given to Velazquez de Leon, it appears. Olid, Sandoval, Ávila, and others also received distinguished brides with dowries. Cortés found it necessary, however, to decline accepting wives for the whole company, as the lords proposed.[46] Indeed, they urged him to settle among them, offering to give lands and to build houses for the whole party.[47]

Finding him determined to proceed to Mexico, they offered their coöperation, and gave an account of the wealth, power, and condition of the lake states, dwelling in particular on the magnificence of Montezuma. They did not omit a tirade against his tyranny, and stated that whenever he proposed to attack Tlascala no less than one hundred thousand men were placed in the field. It was because they were forewarned that their resistance was so successful, and because the Aztec troops, gathered as they were to a great extent from subject provinces, fought with less spirit.[48]

[46] In order to obtain by them a race of heroes. Most writers, following Bernal Diaz and the less explicit chroniclers, allow Xicotencatl to give only one daughter, but Ixtlilxochitl names two, *Hist. Chich.*, 294, and Juarros, in his biography of the Alvarados, enumerates their different wives, and among them the two sisters, with their full names and their descendants. Pedro de Alvarado's only surviving issue, he says, was a daughter Leonor, by Luisa, who married first Pedro Puertocarrero and afterward Francisco de la Cueva, nephew of the Duke of Alburquerque. The other sister also left a daughter. *Hist. Guat.*, 347–8. Bernal Diaz mentions also a son, Pedro, by Luisa. *Hist. Verdad.*, 54; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 54. According to Camargo, 300 young and pretty slave girls, destined for the sacrifices, were the first women offered. They were at first declined, but finally accepted for the suite of Marina. Finding that they were well treated, the lords offered their own daughters in marriage. *Hist. Tlax.*, 148–50. A number of women were added to the suite of Marina and of the new wives, from the first families in the state, another authority intimates. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 86; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. xi.

[47] *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 150–1. They opened a road to Cempoala, and brought effects from Villa Rica, including presents for the lords. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 294.

[48] Tapia writes, 'Yo que esto escribo pregunté á Muteczuma y á otros sus

Cortés had now a further motive for going to Mexico, which was the alliance proposed to him by Ixtlilxochitl, the rebellious brother of Cacama, and ruler of northern Acolhuacan, who hoped with Spanish aid to overthrow the hated Montezuma, and raise himself to the throne of Tezcuco, at least, and to the head of the allied states. To this pleasing proposal Cortés replied in a manner which could not fail to promote his own interests by keeping alive the spirit of dissension among his prey.[49] Huexotzinco, the ally of Tlascala, sent in her formal adhesion about the same time.

Finding that the Spaniards could not be kept away from Mexico, Montezuma thought it best at any rate to hasten their departure from Tlascala. An urgent invitation to visit him in his capital was accordingly sent through four prominent caciques, attended by followers bearing as usual a costly present, consisting of ten bales of embroidered robes and a number of gold articles, worth fully ten thousand pesos.[50] A council was held to consider the departure and the route to be taken. The lords of Tlascala did not relish the idea of a friendly visit to Mexico by their new allies, to be won over perhaps by the arts of the enemy. They sought to impress upon Cortés that

capitanes,' and was told that the Mexicans could readily have subdued little Tlascala, but they preferred to use her as a means, close at hand, for exercising their youth and armies in warfare, and for supplying war captives for the sacrifices! *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 572. 'Juntaua dozientos y trezientos mil hombres para vna batalla.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 89. The Tlascaltecs spoke of their descent from giants, and produced gigantic bones in evidence thereof. Some of these were sent to Spain by Cortés, together with the report. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 55.

[49] Torquemada places the arrival of this embassy immediately after Cortés' entry into Tlascala, while Clavigero dates it at Tecohuatzinco. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 51-2. Brasseur de Bourbourg calls it the second embassy, *Hist. Chich.*, 288, that the first envoys saw Cortés at his camp by San Juan de Ulua. For Ixtlilxochitl's career, see *Native Races*, v. 474-7.

[50] Bernal Diaz relates that Cortés detained these men as hostages, while he sent Alvarado and Bernardino Vazquez de Tapia to Mexico to communicate with Montezuma, and to examine the route and approaches to the city. They had hardly left before the company began to censure the rashness of sending two valuable men on so risky a mission, and Cortés accordingly sent to recall them. Tapia having fallen sick on the road, they gladly returned, but left the guides to proceed to Mexico.

favor of it, and when reminded of the suspicious absence of any deputation from that city, he sent a message to the rulers that they might remedy the omission.[52]

The Cholultec council was divided on the answer to be sent, three of the members being in favor of compliance, and the other three, supported by the generalissimo, opposing any concession.[53] Finally a compromise was effected by sending three or four persons of no standing, and without presents, to say that the governors of the city were sick and could not come. The Tlascaltecs pointed out the disrespect in sending such men and such a message, and Cortés at once despatched four messengers to signify his displeasure, and to announce that unless the Cholultecs within three days sent persons of authority to offer allegiance to the Spanish king, he would march forth and destroy them, proceeding against them as against rebels.[54]

Finding that it would not do to trifle with the powerful strangers, some of the highest nobles in the city were despatched to the Spanish camp, with a suitable retinue, to tender excuses, pleading that they had dreaded to enter Tlascala, a state hostile to them.

They invited Cortés to their city, where amends

[52] 'Y dar la obediencia á nuestro Rey, y Señor, sino que los ternia por de malas intenciones.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 56. According to Camargo, Patlahuatzin of Tlascala was sent with the message. The Cholultecs seized and flayed his face and arms, cutting off the hands, so that they were left dangling by the skin from the neck. In this guise they sent him back with the reply that thus would they receive the white gods whose prowess he had extolled. The Tlascaltecs demanded that Cortés should avenge the cruelty and the insult, and he did so in the massacre of Cholula. This, continues the narrator, is commemorated in Tlascalan song, but the account is evidently mixed, and probably refers chiefly to some earlier occurrence. *Hist. Tlax.*, 161–2. Brasseur de Bourbourg assumes that Patlahuatzin is merely insulted and ill-treated. The two peoples had once been friends and allies, but during the last battle which they fought against their common enemy, the Aztecs, the Cholultecs had suddenly changed sides and fallen on the rear of their unsuspecting allies, inflicting great slaughter. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. xviii.

[53] Three of the members are imprisoned for favoring an alliance with the Spaniards, but they escape and come to Cortés, says Herrera, *id.*

[54] Cortés, *Cartas*, 71, says that he sent this message by the Cholultec messengers.

CHAPTER XIV.

SUBJUGATION OF CHOLULA.

OCTOBER, 1519.

DEPARTURE FROM TLASCALA—DESCRIPTION OF CHOLULA—THE WELCOME—ARMY QUARTERS IN THE CITY—INTIMATIONS OF A CONSPIRACY BETWEEN THE MEXICANS AND CHOLULTECS—CORTÉS ASKS FOR PROVISIONS AND WARRIORS—HE HOLDS A COUNCIL—PREPARATIONS FOR AN ATTACK—THE LORDS ENTER THE COURT WITH THE REQUIRED SUPPLIES—CORTÉS REPRIMANDS THEM IN AN ADDRESS—THE SLAUGHTER BEGINS—DESTRUCTION OF THE CITY—BUTCHERY AND PILLAGE—AMNESTY FINALLY PROCLAIMED—XICOTENCATL RETURNS TO TLASCALA—RECONCILIATION OF THE CHOLULTECS AND TLASCALTECS—DEDICATION OF A TEMPLE TO THE VIRGIN—REFLECTIONS ON THE MASSACRE OF CHOLULA.

THE Spaniards had been three weeks beneath the hospitable roofs of the Tlascaltecs, and now they departed amid expressions of good-will mingled with grief.[1] A crowd as large as that which had welcomed their arrival followed them for a considerable distance, and this included all the available warriors of the districts,[2] who would gladly have joined the handful of heroes in their quest for wealth and glory amongst the hated Aztecs. Cortés did not think it well, however, to trammel his movements, or to intrude on his various hosts with too large a force of undisciplined and unmanageable men, whom he had not learned to trust, and only about five thousand were allowed to attach themselves to his army.[3]

[1] 'Hiço sacrificar treynta muchachos el dia que se partieron.' *Oviedo*, iii. 497.

[2] Estimated by Cortés at a round 100,000. Others say he was offered 10,000 to 20,000 men.

[3] This is the figure deduced from later references. 'Quedaron en mi compañia hasta cinco ó seis mil.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 72. Dismissing the 100,000 with presents, he retained only 3000. 'Por no ponerse en manos de gente barbara.'

Late in the afternoon t
border of Tlascala, and c
from Cholula. The city
so thickly covered with p
not a span of land rem
work of ditches irrigate
and agave, cochineal and
of the owners. "No cit
"presents a more beau
surface and mass of towe
ing gardens and fringe
six sections were mark
lined with buildings, the
pearance of which fully
wealth of the occupants.
ber of houses at twenty
in the suburbs, which i
hundred thousand.[4]

Cholula was one of th
the country, with traditi
misty past. It was her
the final impress of his go
and here that a grateful
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of a tower of Babel wh
growth by divine interfe
vicissitudes of war, duri
moment had overcome
destruction, or during v
imbued with veneration c
Rome, she had maintain
the ashes with renewed
and she was at this tim

Herrera, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. i. 'S
Hist. Chich., 294. He gives the n
from those mentioned in *Camargo*,
muchos mercaderes a rescatar sal y

[4] *Cartas*, 74–5. 'En el tiempo
noventa mill hombres de guerra.'
familiarum capiebat.' *Las Casas*, *I*
el assiento, y prospetiua a Valladoli

the great Huitzilapan plateau, famous beside for b pottery and delicate fabrics. The warlike Tlascaltec referred to her contemptuously as a city of cunning and effeminate traders, and there was doubtless a good deal of truth in this; but then her merchants rivalled those of Mexico in wealth, while her citizens were not behind the dwellers on the lake in refinement.

But the chief renown of Cholula consisted in being the holy city of Anáhuac, unequalled for the frequency and pomp of her festivals and sacred pageantry; in being the religious centre for countless pilgrims who journeyed from afar to worship at the shrines here maintained, not only by the citizens, but by princes of different countries. Her temples were estimated to equal the number of days in the year, and as some possessed more than one chapel, fully four hundred towers rose to bewilder the eye with their gleaming ornamentation. Chief among them was the semi-spherical temple, with its vestal fire, devoted to Quetzalcoatl, which stood upon a quadrilateral mound of nearly two hundred feet in height, ascended by one hundred and twenty steps, and with a larger base than any old-world pyramid.[5]

The government was aristocratic republican, directed by a council of six nobles, elected in the six wards. At their head sat two supreme magistrates, the *tlachiach* and *aquiach*, chosen respectively from the priesthood and nobility, and corresponding to pontiff and captain-general,[6] the latter office held at this time by Tecuanhuehuetzin.[7]

[5] See *Native Races*, iii. iv.

[6] *Native Races*, v. 264; *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 160. 'Gouernauase por vn capitan general, eligido por la republica, con el consejo de seys nobles, assistian en el sacerdotes.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. ii. *Gomara* mentions only a captain-general or governor. *Hist. Mex.*, 95. Torquemada gives the city four lords, who divided between them the territory. ii. 350–1. The government appears to have undergone several changes since the age of Quetzalcoatl, and at one period four nobles appear to have represented the wards, but these increased in course of time to six, and the council appears also to have been increased by the attendance of other priests beside the pontiff.

[7] *Chimalpain, Hist. Cong.*, 100, 107–8. For history and description of city and temples, see *Native Races*, ii.–v.

At the command of these chiefs a number of Cholultec nobles appeared at the camp to offer welcome and to bring provisions.[8] In the morning the army advanced toward the city and was met by a crowd of fully ten thousand people, preceded by a stately procession, at the head of which appeared the lords. They showed themselves most obsequious, but requested that the Tlascaltecs, as their enemies, should not be allowed to enter the city, and Cortés accordingly persuaded these warriors to camp outside. Some of their carriers alone entered with the Cempoalans and Spaniards to receive a share in the proffered hospitality. If the troops found no arches and floral festoons, as at Tlascala, to honor them, nor the same jubilant shouts of welcome, they were at least heralded by clashing music, and dense crowds of spectators lined the streets and roofs, while priests in white robes went chanting by their side, swinging the censers whence the copal rose to shed a halo on the heroes. Cortés was struck with the superior quality and quantity of dresses worn, the higher classes being noticeable in their embroidered mantles, not unlike the Moorish cloak. He also observed that beggars abounded, as they did in "Spain and other parts inhabited by civilized people."

The courts of one of the temples[9] were offered as quarters for the army, and presently servants appeared with provisions, which, if not abundant, were at least good.[10] Cortés did not omit to vaunt the grandeur of his king and to impress the advantages of the true faith, but although the lords bowed admission to the first they held firmly to their idols.

[8] From a vague reference in Camargo, Brasseur de Bourbourg assumes that this party is headed by the three counsellors least friendly to the Spaniards. A little later the other three come to Cortés for protection, after escaping from the imprisonment imposed upon them by their colleagues. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 174. Herrera places the arrival of the refugees at Tlascala. dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. xviii. But there appears to be no ground for these statements.

[9] 'Del gran Cú de *Quetzalcoatl*.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 18.

[10] 'Les dieron aquella noche a cada vno vn gallipauo.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 92.

The following day they failed to appear, and t
supply of food dwindled perceptibly, while none wa
furnished on the third day, the populace even ap
pearing to avoid the Spanish quarters. Cortés sent
to remind the chiefs of their neglect, but received
only the scantiest provisions, with the excuse that
the stock was nearly exhausted.[11]

The same day came envoys from Montezuma, un-
provided with the usual presents, who, after some
words with the confrères acting as guides to the
Spaniards, represented that to proceed to Mexico
would be useless, since the roads were impassable and
the food supply insufficient.[12] Finding that these and
other statements had no effect on Cortés, they left,
taking with them the leading envoy stationed with
the Spaniards.[13] All this was far from reassuring,
taken in connection with the warning of the Tlas-
caltecs still ringing in their ears, and with the report
brought by Cempoalans of barricades, of stone piles
upon the roofs, and of excavations in the main
street set with pointed sticks and loosely covered
over.[14]

Now came messengers from the allied camp to
announce that women and children had been leaving
the city with their effects, and that unusual prepa-
rations seemed to be going on. Scarcely had this set
Cortés pondering when Marina appeared with the still
more startling information that a native woman of
rank, won by her beauty and evident wealth no doubt,
had just been urging her in a most mysterious man-
ner to transfer herself and her effects to the house
of the woman, where she should be married to her

[11] 'Lo que traian era agua, y leña,' says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 58.

[12] 'Do Muteczuma estaba habia mucho número de leones é tigres é otras fieras, é que cada que Muteczuma quirie las hacie soltar, é bastaban para comernos é despedazarnos.' *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 574; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 92.

[13] Cortés told them to wait, for he would start for Mexico on the following day, and they promised to do so, says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 58.

[14] On his entry into the city Cortés also observed suspicious features. 'Algunas calles de la ciudad tapiadas, y muchas piedras en todas las azoteas.' *Cartas*, 72.

son.[15] By expressing gratitude and pretending acquiescence, Marina elicited that envoys had been coming and going between Mexico and Cholula for some time, and that Montezuma had prevailed on the chiefs, by means of bribes and promises,[16] to attack the Spaniards that very night or in the morning. Aztec troops were stationed close to the city, to the number of twenty or even fifty thousand, to aid in the work and to carry the Mexican share of the captives to their capital.[17] Cortés at once secured the communicative woman, who was awaiting the return of Marina with her valuables, and ascertained further that the covered excavations, the stone piles, and the barricades were no fiction.

He also secured two apparently friendly priests,[18] and by bribing them with chalchiuite stones, and showing that he was aware of the plot, obtained a revelation which agreed substantially with the account already given. It appeared that Montezuma had proposed to quarter his troops in the city, but this the lords had objected to, fearing that once within the walls the Aztecs would retain possession.[19] The Cholultecs intended to do the deed themselves, and it was only in case the Spaniards left the city, or escaped, that the confederate Aztecs were to take an active part.

Only three of the wards had consented to share in the treachery,[20] and the priests of the others had that

[15] 'Hermano de otro moço que traia la vieja que la acompañaua.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 59. This is probably the young man who, according to Peter Martyr, reveals the plot to Aguilar. A 'Cempoal maiden' was also warned by a Cholultec woman. dec. v. cap. ii.

[16] 'Dieron al capitan-general vn atambor de oro.' *Gomara. Hist. Mex.*, 92. This official was the husband of the old woman. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 59.

[17] 'Auian de quedar veinte de nosotros para sacrificar á los idolos de Cholula.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 59. Others say half the captives.

[18] Marina won them over. *Id.* 'Dos que andauan muy solicitos.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. i. Brasseur de Bourbourg supposes that the friendly chiefs were those who gave the first intimation of the plot, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 174, and it is not unlikely that they did warn the Spaniards.

[19] Oviedo regards the Cholultecs as having rebelled against Montezuma. iii. 498. But they stood rather in the position of allies. See *Native Races*, v. Bernal Diaz assumes that half the Aztec troops were admitted.

[20] 'Los Mexicanos . . . trataron con los Señores de los Tres Barrios.' *Tor-*

very day sacrificed ten children[21] to the god of war, and received assurances of victory. So confident were they of securing the encaged guests that ropes and stakes had been prepared to bind the captives.

Cortés called his counsellors, and placing before them the state of affairs asked their views. A few of the more cautious advised retreat to Tlascala, whose friendly hospitality seemed alluring. Others suggested an immediate departure by way of the friendly Huexotzinco, while the majority inclined to a prompt and effective chastisement of the treachery as a warning to others. This was what Cortés had determined upon. He showed them how well the arrangement of the courts would answer for the plan he had evolved, and how strong they were in case of a siege.

Summoning the lords, he expressed his displeasure at the inconsiderate treatment received, and said that he would rid them of his presence on the morrow. He reminded them of the allegiance they had tendered, and declared that if loyal they would be rewarded; if not, punishment would follow. Finally he demanded provisions for the journey, and two thousand warriors, beside carriers, to accompany the army.[22] This appeared to suit their plans, for they exchanged a look of intelligence, and at once promised compliance, protesting at the same time their devotion. "What need have these of food," they muttered with a laugh, "when they themselves are soon to be eaten cooked with chile?"[23] That very night preparations were

quemada, i. 438. Herrera has been even more explicit, and Bernal Diaz confirms this in several places, without specifying the number. 'Otros barrios, que no se hallaron en las traiciones.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 60.

[21] Three years old, half males, half females. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. ii. Oviedo supposes the females to be young virgins. iii. 498. Bernal Diaz says five children and two other persons.

[22] Most authors, following Gomara and Herrera, assume that only carriers were asked for, but Diaz writes warriors, and correctly, no doubt, since it could not be Cortés' plan or desire to wreak vengeance on helpless carriers, but rather on the very men who proposed to attack him. According to Tapia, followed by Gomara, Cortés upbraids the lords for lying and plotting, but they assure him of their loyalty. *Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 575. It is not likely that he would have roused suspicion by such language.

[23] 'Aguilar que los oya hablar.' *Oviedo*, iii. 498.

made, the Spaniards planting guns at the approaches to the streets and courts, looking to the horses and accoutrements, and sending a message to the Tlascaltecs to enter the city and join them on hearing the first shot.

In the morning, so early indeed as to indicate a decided eagerness, came the lords and leading priests, with an immense throng. A force even larger than had been demanded followed them into the Spanish quarter, and was allowed to file into the court, which was commanded at all points by the soldiers and the cannon, the latter as yet innocent-looking instruments to the Cholultecs.[24] The lords and leading men, to the number of thirty or forty, were invited to Cortés' rooms to receive his farewell. He addressed them in a severe tone, in the presence of the Aztec envoys, representing that he had sought to win their friendship for himself and their adhesion for his king, and to further this he had treated them with every consideration. They had withheld the necessary supplies, yet he had respected their property and persons, and for their sake he had left his stanch allies outside the city. In return for this they had, under the mask of friendship, plotted against the lives of his party, the invited guests of themselves and of Montezuma, with the intention of assassinating them. But they had been caught in their own trap. The amazement of the chiefs deepened into terror as he concluded. "Surely it is a god that speaks," they murmured, "since he reads our very thoughts." On the impulse of the moment they admitted their guilt, but cast the blame on Montezuma. This, rejoined Cortés, did not justify treachery, and the excuse should avail them naught. The lords who had been opposed to the plot, and a few others less guilty or less responsible chiefs and priests, were now taken aside, and from them further

[24] Picked warriors were brought, pretending to be slaves and carriers. *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 575. 'Cō hamacas para lleuar los Españoles.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 93.

particulars were obtained, which implicated the Mexicans only the more.

Returning to the envoys, who protested that their emperor was wholly blameless, he reassured them by saying that he believed not a word of the accusation. Montezuma was too great a prince, he continued, to stoop to such baseness, and had beside, by means of presents and messages, shown himself to be his friend. The Cholultecs should suffer the penalty not only of their treason but of their falsehood. The fact was that it did not suit Cortés to quarrel with Montezuma for the present, but rather to lull him into fancied security.[25] A terrible punishment was now in store for the Cholultecs.

The signal being given, volleys poured from cannon, arquebuses, and cross-bows upon the warriors confined in the court, and then the Spaniards rushed in with sword and lance thrusting and slashing at the packed masses. The high walls permitted no escape, and at the gates gleamed a line of lances above the smoking mouths of the guns. Pressing one upon another, the victims offered only a better mark for the ruthless slayers, and fell in heaps, dead and dying intermingled, while many were trampled underfoot. Not one of those who had entered the court remained standing. Among the slain were the captain-general and the most inimical of the lords and leading men.[26]

Meanwhile other guns had belched destruction along the approaches from the streets, as the crowd rushed forward in response to the cries and groans

[25] According to Bernal Diaz the envoys are told of this on the preceding evening, and are thereupon placed under guard. *Hist. Verdad.*, 59.

[26] Tapia states that most of the lords and chiefs whom Cortés addressed were killed. *Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 575. 'Some of them,' say Ixtlilxochitl and Gomara, while Clavigero, Brasseur de Bourbourg, and others suppose that all these leaders were pardoned, which is not likely, since so many less guilty men fell. 'El que solia mãdar, fue vno de los que murieron en el patio.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 60. He intimates that the real carriers were allowed to leave the court, the warriors alone being detained for slaughter. The two friendly priests were sent home to be out of harm's way. This leads to the supposition that all the rest of the leading men fell. 'Los otros señores naturales todos murieron.' *Oviedo*, iii. 499.

of their butchered friends. Terrified by the fiery thunder and its mysterious missiles, they fell back; and now the cavalry charged, trampling them underfoot, and opening a way for the infantry and allies, who pressed onward to take advantage of the confusion and to repeat the scene enacted within. Panic-stricken as the natives were by the strange arms and tactics of the Spaniards, they offered little or no resistance, though armed with intent to attack. Being also without leaders, they had none to restrain their flight, but pressed one on the other, down the streets and into buildings, anywhere out of the reach of the cutting blades and fierce-tramping horses. The Tlascaltecs[27] were at the same time falling on their flanks, glorying in the opportunity to repay their enemies the treachery of years ago. A bloody track they left. Unprepared for such an onslaught the people of Cholula found little opportunity to make use of the barricades and the stone piles, and where they attempted it the fire-arm and cross-bow aided the fire-brand. The strongest resistance was met at the temples, wherein the fugitives mostly gathered, but even these did not hold out long, for stones and arrows availed little against armor.

All who could sought to gain the great temple of Quetzalcoatl, which offered not only the best defence from its height, but was held to be impregnable through the special protection extended over it by the deity. Within its walls lay confined a mighty stream, so it was said, which by the removal of a few stones could be let loose to overwhelm invaders. Now, if ever, in the name of all the gods, let it be done! Reverently were removed, one by one, the stones of the sacred wall, but no flood appeared, not even a drop of water. In their despair the besieged hastened to hurl the stones, and arrows, and darts[28]

[27] Wearing crowns of rushes to be distinguished from their enemies. *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 164.

[28] Zamacois enters into an elaborate argument to disprove the unimportant

upon the enemy as they climbed the sides of the pyramid. But there was little use in this. Quickly they were driven by the sword from the platform into the chapel tower. Not caring to lose time in a siege, the Spaniards offered them their lives. One alone is said to have surrendered. The rest, inspired by the presence of the idols, spat defiance. It was their last effort, for the next moment the torch was applied, and enfolding the building, the flames drove the besieged, frenzied with terror and excitement, upon the line of pikes inclosing them, or head-foremost down the dizzy heights. To the last could be seen a priest upon the highest pinnacle, enveloped in smoke and glare, declaiming against the idols for having abandoned them, and shouting: "Now, Tlascala, thy heart has its revenge! Speedily shall Montezuma have his!"[29]

During the first two hours of the slaughter over three thousand men perished, if we may believe Cortés, and for three hours more he continued the carnage, raising the number of deaths according to different estimates to six thousand or more.[30] The loss of life would have been still greater but for the strict orders issued to spare the women and children, and also the less hostile wards,[31] and for the eagerness of the Tlascaltecs to secure captives as well as spoils, and of the Spaniards to hunt for treasures. The hostile wards had besides been pretty well cleared of inhabitants by the time Cortés returned to his quarters

statement that burning arrows were showered on the besiegers. *Hist. Méj.*, ii. 707. This author has a decided faculty for singling out trifles, apparently under the impression that important questions can take care of themselves.

[29] *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 163–4; *Torquemada*, i. 440. 'Se dejaron allí quemar.' *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 576.

[30] *Cortés, Cartas*, 73–4; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 94; 6000 and more within two hours. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 294. Las Casas lets him first kill 6000 unarmed carriers and then proceed to devastate the city. *Regio. Ind. Devastat.*, 27.

[31] 'Echó toda la gente fuera de la cindad por muchas partes della.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 74. The statement of Bernal Diaz that the friendly priests were sent home, to be out of harm's way, shows also that parts of the city were respected. See notes 17 and 23. 'El marques mandaba que se guardasen de no matar mujeres ni niños.' *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 576.

forbidding further butchery. When the amnesty was proclaimed, however, numbers appeared from hiding-places, even from beneath the heaps of slain, while many who had pretended death, to escape the sword, arose and fled.

The pillage was continued for some time longer,[32] and as the Tlascaltecs cared chiefly for fabrics, feathers, and provisions, particularly salt, the Spaniards were allowed to secure all the gold and trinkets they could, though these were far less in amount than had been expected.[33] When the real work was over, Xicotencatl appeared with twenty thousand men and tendered his services; but Cortés could offer him only a share in the booty for his attention, and with this he returned to Tlascala to celebrate the downfall of the hated and boastful neighbor.[34]

The prayers of the chiefs who had been spared, supported by the neighboring caciques, and even by the Tlascalan lords, prevailed on Cortés to stop the pillage after the second day, and to issue a pardon, although not till everything of value had been secured. Some of the chiefs were thereupon sent forth to recall the fugitive inhabitants, and with such good effect that within a few days the city was again peopled. The débris and gore being removed, the streets speedily resumed their accustomed appearance, and the shops and markets were busy as before, though blackened ruins and desolated homes long remained a testimony of the fearful blow.[35] Im-

[32] For two days, says Tapia, *id.*, and Bernal Diaz intimates that it ended with the second day. *Hist. Verdad.*, 60.

[33] 'Tomaron los Castellanos el oro, y pluma, aũque se hallò poco.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. ii. 'Ovo mucho despojo de oro é plata,' says Oviedo, iii. 499, probably because he knew Cholula to be rich; but a great deal of private treasure at least must have been taken out of the city when the women were sent away. The Tlascaltecs carried off 20,000 captives, he adds.

[34] *Herrera*, ubi sup. Oviedo allows a reinforcement of 40,000 Tlascaltecs to join in the massacre and pillage, iii. 498, and Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 60, says the late comers joined in the pillage on the second day. The Tlascaltecs brought the Spaniards food, of which they had fallen short. *Ixtlilxochitl. Hist. Chich.*, 295.

[35] A very similar massacre and raid was perpetrated by the Chichimec-Toltecs at the close of the thirteenth century. *Native Races*, v. 484–7.

pressed no less by the supposed divine penetration of the white conquerors than by their irresistible prowess and terrible revenge, the natives were only too ready to kiss with veneration the hand red with the blood of their kindred. To this they were also impelled by finding that the Spaniards not only allowed no sacrifice of captives, but ordered the Tlascaltecs to release the prisoners they had hoped to carry into slavery. This was a most trying requirement to the allies, but at the instance of Maxixcatzin and other lords they obeyed in so far as to restore the greater proportion of the thousands who had been secured.

The intervention of the Tlascaltec lords and chiefs in behalf of the Cholultecs tended to promote a more friendly feeling between the two peoples, particularly since the one had been satiated with revenge and the other humbled, and Cortés took advantage of this to formally reconcile them. Whatever may have been their sincerity in the matter, they certainly found no opportunity to renew their feud.

The captain-general having fallen, the people, with Cortés' approval, chose a successor from the ranks of the friendly chiefs.[36] Cortés assured them of his good-will and protection so long as they remained the loyal subjects they now promised to be, and he hoped that nothing would occur hereafter to mar their friendly intercourse. He explained to them the mysteries of his faith, and its superiority over the superstitious worship of the idols which had played them false during the late conflict, counselling them to cast aside such images, and let their place be occupied by the redeeming emblems of Christianity. The terrified natives could only promise obedience, and hasten to aid in erecting crosses, but the idols nevertheless retained their places. Cortés was quite prepared to take advantage of his power as conqueror to compel

[36] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 95. Finding that the brother of the deceased was, according to custom, entitled to the office, Cortés appointed him. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 60. Oviedo intimates that one governor was chosen to take the place of all the other ruling men. iii. 499.

the acceptance of his doctrines by the now humbled people, but Padre Olmedo representing the futility of enforced conversion, he contented himself with breaking the sacrificial cages and forbidding the offering of human victims. As it was, idolatry had suffered a heavy blow in this terrible chastisement of the holy city, rich as she was in her sanctuaries and profound in her devotion. The gods had proved powerless! Although a number of temples were speedily restored to their worship, the great pyramid was never again to be graced by pagan rites. Twice had this temple shared in the destruction of the city, only to rise more beautiful than ever in its delusive attractions; now a simple stone cross stood upon the summit, erected by Cortés to guard the site on behalf of the church which was there to rise a few years later. This was dedicated to the Vírgen de los Remedios, whose image is said to have been left in the city by her conquerors.[37]

The massacre of Cholula forms one of the darkest pages in the annals of the conquest, and has afforded much ground for reproach against Cortés, but it is to be regarded from different stand-points. The diabolical doctrines of the day may be said to have forced on adventurers in America the conquest of her nations, and cruel deeds were but the natural result, particularly when the task was undertaken with insufficient forces. According to their own admission, made also before the later investigating committee, the Cholultecs had plotted to destroy their invited guests, whom they sought first to lull into fancied security, and in this they acted as treacherously and plotted as cruelly as did their intended victims in re-

[37] It is also said 'que la trajo un religioso franciscano á quien se le apareció en Roma.' *Veytia, Hist. Ant. Méj.*, i. 156. 'Disgusted with the idol which had played them false, they installed another in its place,' says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 61. The disregard shown by Spaniards even for the temples and relics of Quetzalcoatl might have struck the natives as peculiar in men whom rumor pointed out as his descendants, yet no chronicle refers to it.

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were, the Indians hard

It might be claimed that by holding captive the chiefs their safety would have been assured; but treason was rife everywhere, and a lesson was needed.

doubtless the view Las Casas would have taken. Intent on pleading the cause of his dusky protégés, he cared not to sift statements that might create sympathy for them. Yet, had he foreseen how widely his accusations would be used to sully Spanish fame, he might have been more circumspect. 'E' vero, che fu troppo rigorosa la vendetta, ed orribile la strage,' says Clavigero; yet he severely condemns Las Casas for his distorted account. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 63–4. According to Sahagun's native record, the Tlascaltecs persuaded Cortés to avenge them on the Cholultecs, and as the latter received him coldly, he began to believe the accusations of his allies. Assembling the chiefs and soldiers, together with citizens, in the temple court, he slaughtered them, defenceless as they were. *Hist. Conq.*, 18. Bustamante comments on this version, and denounces the conquerors as atrociously cruel. *Id.* (ed. 1840), 56–63. Duran's version is a little milder. His main object being to give the life of Montezuma, he has passed by many events connected with the Spaniards, and has suppressed many accounts of their cruelties. He accordingly refers but briefly to the Cholula massacre, saying that 'the Indians, in their eagerness to serve the Spaniards, came in such large numbers to their quarters with provisions, grass, etc., that Cortés suspected treasonable designs, and put them to the sword.' *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 438–9. Ixtlilxochitl evidently struggles between his fear of the Spanish rulers and the desire to tell what he regards as the truth. He intimates that the only ground for suspicion against the Cholultecs was the effort to dissuade Cortés from going to Mexico. The chiefs and the citizens were assembled on the pretence of selecting carriers, and over 5000 fell beneath the sword. *Hist. Chich.*, 294. An antagonistic view of the affair is offered by Juan Cano, of Narvaez' expedition, who gave Oviedo the hearsay statement that Cortés had asked for 3000 carriers, and wantonly killed them. iii. 552. Carbajal Espinosa, a Mexican historian, like Bustamante, regards the victims as innocent and the deed as barbarous. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 182. Robertson considers that Cortés had good reasons for it, yet 'the punishment was certainly excessive and atrocious.' *Hist. Am.*, ii. 452. Solis condemns those who seek to accuse the Spaniards of cruelty and to pity the Indians—'maligna compasion, hija del odio y de la envidia.' The conquerors gave religion to them, and that he regards as sufficient compensation. *Hist. Mex.*, i. 345. 'Cortez felt but doubtful of their fidelity, and feared to leave his rear to a people who might ruin his enterprise,' says Wilson, *Conq., Mex.*, 383, in explanation of the motive; but he forgets that a few hostages, as taken from other peoples on the route, would have secured Cortés far more than the murder of a small percentage of this population. Prescott compares the deed with European cruelties, and, considering the danger threatening the Spaniards, he excuses it. He prefaces his comments by a consideration of the right of conquest. *Mex.*, ii. 29–39. Alas for honesty, humanity, decency, when talented American authors talk of the right of one people to rob and murder another people! See also *Veytia, Hist. Ant. Méj.*, iii. 381–2; *Pizarro y Orellano, Varones Ilustres*, 86–9; *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 112–13, 313–14; *Pimentel, Mem. Sit.*, 90–2. Although some of the early Dutch writers eagerly copy and even exaggerate Las Casas' version, the contemporary German writers are quite moderate. Cortés' version is given in the *Weltbuch Spiegel und bildtnis des gantzen Erdtbodens von Sebastiano Franco Wördensi*, Tübingen, 1534, ccxxxvii leaves, beside preface and register. This book was much sought after in its day, and received several editions, in German and Dutch, as late as the seventeenth century. The earliest mentioned by Harrisse is dated 1533. The new continent was gradually receiving a larger space in the cosmographies at this period, and Franck actually assigns it a whole section, as one of the four parts of the world. The historic and geographic description of Africa occupies

Here among the greatest plotters, and in the holy city, the lesson would be most effective. It might also be claimed that the chiefs were the guilty ones, and should alone have suffered, not the citizens and soldiers; but they were also in arms, even if subordinate, and such discrimination is not observed in our own age.

Outrages equally as cruel are to-day exculpated throughout christendom as exigencies of war. If we, then, overlook such deeds, how much more excusable are they in the more bloody times of Cortés? But neither now nor then can war, with any of its attendant atrocities, be regarded by right-thinking, humane men as aught but beastly, horrible, diabolical.

the first and smallest section; Europe follows and absorbs about half the pages, while Asia receives 100 folios, and America the remainder, beginning at folio 210. The heading reads: *Von America dem vierdten teyl der welt, Anno M.CCCC.XCVII. erfunden;* but after this chapter follow several pages on Portuguese discoveries in Africa and eastward, till folio 220, when begins the voyage of Columbus, 'sunst Dauber genant,' the German translation of the admiral's name. After several chapters on the physical features, natural resources, and inhabitants of the new discoveries, comes one relating how Americus Vespucius found the fourth part of the world. This is followed by three pages of matter on Asia, as if the author, fearful of forgetting it, there and then gave his story. Several interpolations occur, but the chief portion of the remaining folios relates to Cortés' conquest of Mexico. The carelessly compiled and badly arranged material of the volume claims to be based on over sixty authorities, among which figure Apianus, Munster, Vespucci, Columbus, and Cortés. The affix Wördensi indicates that Franck was a Hollander, although he is often referred to as a German, probably because his life was passed chiefly in Germany. Here he issued, among other works, a not very orthodox chronicle, which was excommunicated at Strasburg. Franck was chased from more than one place, but enjoys the honor of standing in the first class among authors condemned by the Roman Church, and of having been deemed worthy of special refutation by Luther and Melancthon. Even the liberal-minded Bayle, after applying the term Anabaptist, refers to him as 'un vrai fanatique.' *Dict. Hist.*, ii. 1216.

CHAPTER XV.

CHOLULA TO IZTAPALAPAN.

OCTOBER–NOVEMBER, 1519.

THE GODS—HE AGAIN BEGS THE STRANGERS NOT TO
POCATEPETL AND IZTACCIHUATL—NEWS FROM VILLA
ESCALANTE—RETURN OF THE CEMPOALAN ALLIES—
FOR MEXICO—RECEPTION AT HUEXOTZINCO—FIRST
CAN VALLEY—EXULTATIONS AND MISGIVINGS—REST-
CATL—THE COUNTERFEIT MONTEZUMA—MUNIFICENT
MPEROR ATTEMPTS TO ANNIHILATE THE ARMY BY
RS—THROUGH QUAUHTECHCATL, AMAQUEMECAN, AND
BRILLIANT PROCESSION HERALDS THE COMING OF
EZCUCO—AT CUITLAHUAC—MET BY IXTLILXOCHITL—
OF IZTAPALAPAN.

s success, Cortés again spoke to the
ors, telling them in an aggrieved
existed connecting Mexican troops
plot, and that it would be only just
r and desolate the country for such
voys protested their ignorance of any
and offered to send one of their num-
o ascertain what ground there was
This Cortés agreed to, expressing at
ne opinion that Montezuma, after all
eanor, could hardly have favored the
egarded him as a friend, both for the
; and for himself, and it was out of
that he had spared the Cholultecs
nination.[1]

oy reached Mexico he found that his
ed to grieve over the fate of the holy

3; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 96–7.

city, or more probably over the defeat of his plans, and to appeal to the incensed gods by prayers and fastings, while the priests supported the invocations with reeking human hearts.[2] But the holocaust was in vain, for a miraculous incident frightened the idols into silence. Among the victims, says a sacred chronicle, was a Tlascaltec, who, while stretched on the sacrificial stone, called loudly on the God of the advancing Spaniards to deliver him. The words were yet on his lips when a dazzling light enveloped the place, revealing a bright-clad being with diadem and large wings. The priests fell awe-stricken to the ground, while the angel advanced to cheer their victim with hopeful words of a happy future. He was told to announce to the priests that soon the shedding of human blood would cease, for those destined to rule the land were at hand. This the victim did, when the sacrifices were resumed, and with the name of God the last upon his lips his spirit rose to a brighter world.[3]

The downfall of Cholula resounded throughout the land, and the Spaniards were now almost universally confirmed as divine beings, from whom nothing could be kept secret, and whose anger was fierce and devastating. One effect was the arrival of envoys from quite a number of surrounding chieftains, bearing presents, partly with a view of gaining the good-will of the dreaded strangers, partly to offer congratulations.[4] As for Montezuma, his awe deepened into terror as the reports came in and the half threatening message of

[2] 'Sacrificassen cinco mill personas para festejar é aplacar sus dioses.' *Oviedo*, iii. 499. 'Estuuo encerrado en sus deuociones, y sacrificios dos dias juntamente con diez Papas.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 61. 'Estuuo en oracion, y ayuno ocho dias.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 97. 'Si ritirò al palazzo *tlillancalmecatl*, destinato pel tempo di duolo.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 69.

[3] *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 182; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 304. According to Arias de Villalobos, the idol was already stricken mute by the shadow of the approaching cross; the angel released the captive, one of 500 destined for slaughter, and he set forth to join the Spaniards. *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 126.

[4] From the lord of Tepeaca came 30 female slaves and some gold, and from Huexotzinco a wooden box, bordered with gold and silver, containing jewels worth 400 pesos de oro. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. iii.

opposed they and their allies might ravage the country. The emperor accordingly sent an invitation, promising that, although the situation of the capital made it difficult to provide food, he would do his best to entertain them and give proofs of his friendship. The towns en route had orders to supply all their wants.[8]

The story is not without a parallel in classic literature. As Montezuma awaited the approach of Cortés, so old King Latinus awaited the arrival of Æneas and his Trojan warriors; refusing to give battle, or to fight the destinies, and curbing his impetuous people by quoting the oracle.

Along the western horizon of Cholula, at a distance of eight leagues, runs the mountain range which separates the plain of Huitzilapan from the valley of Mexico. And like sentinels upon it stand, in close proximity, the two volcanic peaks of Popocatepetl and Iztaccihuatl, terms signifying respectively 'the smoking mountain' and 'the white woman,' and indeed most apt, the former being suggested by the frequent eruptions, the latter by the snowy covering which falls like a tilmatli mantle from a woman's shoulders. Tradition has it that Iztaccihuatl was the wife of her neighbor, whose noise and fumes were caused by the agonies of tyrants who there underwent purification ere they could enter final rest.[9] While the Spaniards were at Cholula, Popocatepetl was in eruption, an evil omen with the Indians, foreshadowing the disturbances soon to overwhelm the country. Interested by a sight so curious and novel, and desirous of ascertaining for himself and the king the "secret of this smoke," Cortés consented to let Ordaz ascend the volcano. The Indians sought to dissuade him

[8] *Cortés, Cartas*, 77. Bernal Diaz relates that six chiefs brought this message, together with a number of gold jewels, worth upward of 2000 pesos, and some loads of robes. *Hist. Verdad.*, 62. Most authors are, like Gomara, somewhat confused about these messages.

[9] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 96. 'Algunos querian decir que era boca del infierno.' *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, 180; *Torquemada*, i. 436–7.

While preparing
startled by news fro
Mexicans, resulting

low his patron's version; and I
him, and who was no friend of
summit. He gives him only tv
Tlascala. *Hist. Verdad.*, 55. I
their success. Prescott, Brass
terpretation of Cortés' text, all
camped on the summit of the r

Ordaz no doubt claimed to
granted him a coat of arms, wl
blazing mountain. Had he not
surely have raised a clamor. H
edgment of his services during
wealth, he might have rested on
he in 1530 petitioned for and o
Rio Marañon and Cabo de la
tend the conquest. After sul
Spain, two years later, to recrui
querors. He died on the way
cap. ix.; dec. v. lib. i. cap. xi.
cruelty to his men, etc. Ord
fearing the result, since he stoo
during the voyage. *Conq. Tierr*
bajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex., ii. I
iii. 221. 'Su familia establecid
descendientes suyos.' *Alaman*,
querors, made the ascent of th
said to have descended into the
mit. *Hist. Gen.*, iii. 317; *Herre*
436–7; *Peter Martyr*, dec. v. cap
till 1827, by Messrs Glennie.
tially only in 1772, but had reac
explored in the same year as t
ascent in 1833 and 1834, and su
occasion. The record is given i
government sent up a successfu
verrière, whose report, with dra
218–45. Meanwhile the obser
examination of the crater for su
since 1836. The volcano was in
as if in sympathy with the poli
discharges recorded took plac
towns, as far as Tlascala, with
silent, the last two outbreaks
Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad., 55;
tion of 1663–4 created great te
Mex., pt. i. 26. Bustamante exte
(ed. 1840), 75.

Rude cuts of the volcanic e
curious cosmographies of Sebas
Hebrew scholar, as mathematic
forty printed works, and would
the plague cut him off at Basl
Ptolemy's Geography began in
to *Labanoff's Catalogue*, appea

its river had received from Grijalva the name of Almería.[11] This was occupied by an Aztec garrison under Quauhpopoca,[12] whose Aztec pride and loyalty to Montezuma could ill brook the independence achieved by the Totonacs, and who probably grieved over the loss of slaves and other contributions which once swelled his income. No sooner had Cortés disappeared beyond the plateau border than my lord grew audacious, encouraged no doubt by the express or tacit consent of his sovereign, and demanded from the neighboring Totonacs the customary tribute, under penalty of having their lands ravaged. They refused, pointing out that they were now the subjects of the great white king. Escalante being appealed to for protection, sent a message explaining that the independence of the people had *de facto* been recognized by Montezuma, with whom he was on friendly terms. He would allow no interference with them. Quauhpopoca replied that his answer would be given on the battlefield. Escalante, nothing loath, set out at once with fifty men, two horses, and two cannon, attended by several thousand Totonacs,[13] and reached the vicinity of Nautla, where Quauhpopoca was already committing depredations. The armies met, and a fierce battle ensued. Awed by the remembrance of former defeats at the hands of the Aztecs, the Totonacs comported themselves so poorly[14] that the brunt of the fight had to be borne by the Spaniards, of whom several were killed and wounded, while one was captured, and a horse destroyed. The enemy was put to flight, but it has been said as an excuse for their defeat the Mexican officers declared to Montezuma that the virgin bearing an infant led the Spaniards in their attack which spread

[11] Cap. iii. note 1.

[12] 'Quauhpopocatzin, señor de Coyohuacan, uno de los grandes del imperio, que asistia en Nauhtlan, y estaba á su cargo el gobierno de las costas del mar del norte.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 296.

[13] Bernal Diaz writes, 40 soldiers, 2 cannon, 2 firelocks, 3 cross-bows and 2000 natives; Cortés, 50 Spaniards and 8000 to 10,000 Indians, 'y doce tiros de pólvora.' *Cartas*, 88.

[14] 'Á la primera refriega.... huyeron, y dexaron al Juan de Escalante peleando,' says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 74.

terror and fearful slaughter in their ranks.[15] Escalante laid waste the district, and captured Nautla town, which was sacked and burned. This lesson finished, he hastened back to Villa Rica, and there within three days succumbed to his wounds together with several soldiers, so that the campaign cost the lives of seven or nine men.[16] From prisoners it was understood that Quauhpopoca had acted wholly under orders from Montezuma. The captured soldier was Argüello, of Leon, a young man of powerful frame, with a large head and a curly black beard. He appears to have died from his wounds on the way to Mexico, and the head was presented to the emperor. Its wild appearance, however, increased by the black, curly beard, made so bad an impression upon him that he refused to offer it to his idols, ordering it to be sent to some other town.[17]

[15] 'And Montezuma believed this to be the great lady whom we claimed for patroness.' 'Todos los soldados que passamos con Cortes, tenemos muy creido.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 74.

[16] 'Seis soldados juntamente con él.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 73. 'Nueue Españoles,' says Gomara, who assumes that two were previously assassinated by Quauhpopoca. *Hist. Mex.*, 122, 129.

[17] According to Bernal Diaz, whose version is chiefly adhered to, the death of so many soldiers caused the Spaniards to fall somewhat in the estimation of the Indians, who had looked upon them as invulnerable beings. 'Y que todos los pueblos de la sierra, y Cempoal, y su sujeto, están alterados, y no les quieren dar comida, ni servir.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 73–4. But this is probably an exaggeration, for Cortés would not have ventured to send down a new comandante almost without escort, or to have remained quietly at Mexico for months, had his rear been so threatened. Cortés, who should be regarded as the best authority, gives a curious motive for the campaign. Qualpopoca, as he calls him, sent a message to Escalante, offering to become a vassal of the Spanish king. He had not submitted before, fearing to pass through the intervening hostile country; but if four soldiers were sent to escort him, he would come with them. Believing this protestation, Escalante sent the four men, two of whom wounded returned shortly after with the story that Quauhpopoca had sought to kill them, and had succeeded in despatching their comrades. This led to the expedition of Escalante. *Cartas*, 87–8. It appears most unlikely that this officer should have so far forgotten the prudence ever enjoined on his captains by Cortés, and trusted only four men in an unknown country, in response to so suspicious a request. There was beside no need for Quauhpopoca to go to Villa Rica, since his submission through envoys would be just as binding. If he desired to see the Spanish fort, he could have gone safely by water, for large canoes were used on the coast. It is not improbable that the story was made up to justify the expedition sent against Nautla, since a campaign by a small force, merely on behalf of a wretched tribe of natives, might have been regarded as unwarranted. This story was also useful afterward, when Cortés first thought

Fearing that these tidings might dishearten the men, Cortés said nothing about the affair;[18] but it had nevertheless a bad effect, for the Cempoalan allies, who had learned a few particulars from the messengers, requested at the last moment to be dismissed to their homes, pleading not only the long absence from their families, but the fear of being treated at Mexico as rebels. Cortés sought to reassure them, declaring that no harm could reach any one under his protection. Furthermore he would enrich them. But the larger portion still insisted, and since they had served him well he did not wish to compel them. Several packs of the rich robes obtained from Mexico were accordingly divided among the leaders, two packages being destined for Chicomacatl and his nephew Cuexco, and with this parting gift all but a small body returned to Cempoala.[19]

After a stay at Cholula of nearly three weeks[20] the Spaniards set out for Mexico, attended by about six thousand natives, chiefly Tlascaltecs, with a sprinkling of Cempoalans, Cholultecs, and Huexotzincas.[21]

proper to reveal it, for rousing his men to action. Gomara follows Cortés, with the difference that Pedro de Ircio, as he wrongly calls the captain at Villa Rica, having orders from Cortés to anticipate Garay by incorporating Almería, sent an order to Quauhpopoca to tender his submission. This he agreed to do, provided the four Spaniards were sent to escort him. Gomara appears to favor the view that Quauhpopoca acted on his own responsibility, for he says that this chief sent to warn Montezuma of Cortés' intention to usurp the empire, and to urge upon him to seize the white captain. *Hist. Mex.*, 122, 129. Bernal Diaz stamps this account as false. Peter Martyr, dec. v. cap. iii., assumes that the two Spaniards were slain by robbers, so that Quauhpopoca was innocent of any misdeed. Tapia's version is incomplete, but appears to favor Bernal Diaz. In Duran's native record, Coatlpopoca appears as the guide of the Spaniards. He treacherously leads them along a precipice, over which two horsemen fall with their steeds, and are killed. For this he is tried and executed. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 411–13.

[18] He reveals it only after his arrival at Mexico, and thus leads Bernal Diaz to assume that the news reached him there. In this he is followed by Herrera, dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. i., and consequently by Torquemada, i. 455.

[19] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 62; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 97; *Torquemada*, i. 442.

[20] The estimate varies from fourteen days, *Herrera*, to over twenty days, *Gomara*. By assuming that nineteen days were spent at Cholula, the army has a week in which to reach Mexico, and this is about the time consumed.

[21] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 97. 'Saliẽdo acompañarle los señores de Chululla, y con gran marauilla de los Embaxadores Mexicanos.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. iii. 'Andauamos la barba sobre el ombro,' says Bernal Diaz, in allusion to the precautions observed. *Hist. Verdad.*, 63.

They passed through Huexotzinco by a route already followed by Ordaz, and recommended as the best and safest. The first camp was made at the Huexotzinca village of Izcalpan, over four leagues from Cholula, where they met with a most friendly reception, and received abundant provisions, together with some female slaves and a little gold. Leaving behind them the smiling plain of Huitzilapan, where they had overcome so many dangers and obtained so many proofs of good-will, on the following day they approached the mountains and came upon the regular highway which leads across the range to the valley of Mexico. The junction of the roads was at the south-west border of Huexotzinco, where the Mexicans had left a proof of their hostility toward this republic, allied to Tlascala, by blocking up the way with trees and other material.[22] These were removed, and the army began the steep ascent of the pass,

[22] Bernal Diaz relates in a confused manner that at Izcalpan the Spaniards were told of two wide roads beginning beyond the first pass. One, easy and open, led to Chalco; the other, to Tlalmanalco, had been obstructed with trees to impede the horses, and so induce the army to take the Chalco route, upon which the Aztecs lay in ambush, ready to fall upon them. *Hist. Verdad.*, 63. This finds some support in Sahagun, whose mythic account relates that Montezuma, in his fear of the advancing forces, had blocked the direct road to Mexico and planted maguey upon it, so as to direct them to Tezcuco. *Hist. Conq.*, 21. Cortés indicates clearly enough that the Mexican envoys had at Cholula recommended a route leading from that city south of Huexotzinco to the usual mountain pass, and used by their people in order to avoid this inimical territory. Upon it every accommodation had been prepared for the Spaniards. This road was not only circuitous, but had been declared by Tlasca tecs and others as hard and perilous, with deep ravines, spanned by narrow and insecure bridges, and with Aztec armies lying in ambush. *Cortés, Cartas*, 76–8; *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 574. Peter Martyr, dec. v. cap. ii., calls this route shorter and easier, though more dangerous. Certain remarks by Bernal Diaz indicate that the ambush had been arranged in connection with the plot at Cholula, and abandoned upon its failure. loc. cit. There could hardly have been more than one route across the range, through the pass wherein the Aztecs had erected their station for travellers, and this the Spaniards did follow. Here also accommodation was prepared for them, and here the embassy from Montezuma appeared. Hence the obstructions spoken of must have been at the junction of the Huexotzinca road with the main road from Cholula to the pass, and intended as an intimation to the Huexotzincas or to the Mexicans not to trespass. They could have been of no avail against the Spaniards, who were beside invited to enter on the main road then at hand. These are facts overlooked by Prescott, Clavigero, and writers generally who have lost themselves in the vague and confused utterances of the chroniclers, and in seeking to elaborate a most simple affair. Modern travellers follow the easier and less picturesque route north of Iztacci-

pressing onward against the chilling winds which swept down from its frozen heights, and before long they were tramping through the snow which covered the summit.

Here they were cheered by a sight which made them, for the moment at least, forget their hardships. A turn in the road disclosed the valley of Mexico—the object of their toil and suffering—stretching from the slope of the forest-clad ranges at their feet as far as the eye could reach, and presenting one picturesque intermingling of green prairies, golden fields, and blooming gardens, clustering round a series of lakes. Towns lay thickly sprinkled, revealed by towering edifices and gleaming walls, and conspicuous above all, the queen city herself, placidly reposing upon the mirrored surface of the larger water. Above her rose the cypress-crowned hill of Chapultepec, with its stately palace consecrated to the glories of Aztec domination.[23]

The first transport over, there came a revulsion of feeling. The evidently dense population of the valley and the many fortified towns confirmed the mysterious warnings of the allies against a powerful and warlike people, and again the longing for the snug and secure plantations of Cuba found expression among the faint-hearted, as they shivered in the icy blast and wrapped themselves the closer in the absence of food and shelter. In this frame of mind the glistening farm-houses seemed only so many troops of savage warriors, lurking amidst the copses and arbors for victims to grace the stone of sacrifice and the festive board; and the stately towns appeared impregnable fortresses, which promised only to become their prisons and graves. So loud grew the murmur

huatl, which skirts Mount Telapon. This was the road recommended by Ixtlilxochitl, leading through Calpulalpan, where he promised to join him with his army; but Cortés preferred to trust to his own arms and to his Tlascaltec followers. *Torquemada*, i. 442.

[23] 'Dezian algunos Castellanos, que aquella era la tierra para su buena dicha prometida, y que mientras mas Moros, mas ganancia.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. iii.

as to indicate mutiny; but Cortés, with his usual firm words, quieted the soldiers, supported as he was by the spirited majority.[24]

After descending for a short distance they came to the travellers' station of Quauhtechcatl,[25] whose commodious edifices afforded room for the whole army. The Mexicans had prepared for the arrival by furnishing an abundance of provisions, with fires in all the rooms, and the tired soldiers eagerly gave themselves up to repose.[26] No less exhausted than they, Cortés nevertheless could not think of rest till he had seen to the security of the camp. His prudence on this occasion came near costing him dearly, for in the darkness a sentinel taking him for a spy drew his cross-bow. Fortunately he heard the click and announced himself.[27] This promptness on the part of the guard was by no means unnecessary; during the night a dozen or more prowling natives met the fate which the general so narrowly escaped. They were supposed to have been the spies of an army hidden in the forest, which, on observing the watchfulness of the Spaniards, abandoned the premeditated attack.[28]

Montezuma's fears appeared to grow with the approach of Cortés, and so did his anxiety about the import of the message which must be delivered to him alone. Could there be a design upon his person? This must be ascertained before the invaders came too

[24] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 97; *Oviedo*, iii. 500.

[25] *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 295. Torquemada, followed by Brasseur de Bourbourg and others, calls it Ithualco, which appears rather to have been a general term for these stations, since ithualli, according to Molina, signifies a court. Peter Martyr and Gomara refer to it as a summer palace.

[26] *Cortés, Cartas*, 79. 'Aun que para los Tamemes hizieron los de Motecçuma choças de paja....y aun les tenian mugeres.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 97. 'Los Indios hizieron de presto muchas barracas,' says Herrera, who places this 'casa de plazer' in the plain below. dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. iii. Tapia calls the buildings 'casas de paja.' *Relacion*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 578.

[27] Martin Lopez was the watchful sentinel. *Torquemada*, i. 443.

[28] *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 577; *Cortés, Cartas*, 80. Herrera intimates that an attack on the summit, where the Spaniards were benumbed with cold, might have succeeded in creating confusion. dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. iii. Unless the naked Indians had been equally benumbed!

near. Among his courtiers was a noble named Tzihuacpopoca, who greatly resembled him in person and voice. Him he commanded to proceed to the Spanish camp, attended by a large retinue, and by representing himself as the emperor to ascertain from the white chief what his intentions were, and to induce him with liberal offers to turn back. The idea was based on an incident which had occurred not many years before, wherein one of the tripartite monarchs saved his life by appearing in proxy at a treacherous court. Montezuma hoped to derive from a similar trick more than one advantage.

Tzihuacpopoca arrived at the mountain camp the morning after the Spaniards had entered it, and created no little excitement by the announcement that the emperor was present in person. Preparations were made to give him a brilliant reception. Unfortunately for the envoy, his secret had too many keepers in the large suite attending him; there were also many among the allies who had been at Montezuma's court, and who looked on this sudden arrival as suspicious. They made inquiries and soon ascertained the truth. Cortés received the great man with courtesy, heralded as he was with a present of three thousand pesos de oro, but he resolved to take advantage of the discovery to impress him with his penetration. After a few moments' conversation he told the noble with a severe tone that he was not the monarch he represented himself to be.[29] He also referred to the attempts made during the night to surprise the camp, as indicated by the dead spies, and assured him that his men were always prepared against plots and deception, and any attempts against them would lead only to the discomfiture and grief of the enemy. Awed by the superior intelligence and power of the general, the envoy thought no longer of anything else than to keep such a man from entering

[29] He appealed to the Tlascaltecs by his side, and they declared that they knew him to be Tzihuacpopoca. *Torquemada*, i. 446.

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[33] 'Ya estamos p
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viniere.' *Sahagun, I.*

gods not place within your house, my lord, one who shall cast you forth and usurp the empire," was the solemn warning of Cuitlahuatzin, as he heard this resolution.[34]

The Spaniards had meanwhile descended the wooded slope from Quauhtechcatl to the cultivated district round Amaquemecan, a city which, together with its suburban villages for two leagues around, numbered over twenty thousand families.[35] The lord, Cacamatzin Teotlateuchtli, received them in his own palace, and entertained them most liberally during their two days' stay, presenting them gifts of forty female slaves and three thousand castellanos in gold. The chiefs of Tlalmanalco and other neighboring towns came to tender their respects, and encouraged by the reports of Spanish prowess they hesitated not to lay bare their grievances against the Aztecs, who oppressed them with heavy taxes, robbed them of wives and daughters, and carried the men into slavery. Cortés encouraged the chiefs with fair promises, and was not a little delighted at finding disaffection in the very heart of the empire, whose power had been so much extolled.[36]

Passing by way of Tlalmanalco through a succession of flourishing maize and maguey fields, the Spaniards reached Ayotzinco, a town at the south end of Chalco lake.[37] Here was seen the first specimen of the peculiar

[34] 'Este parecer de Cuitlahuac, abraçaron muchos de los Presentes.' *Torquemada*, i. 444-5.

[35] With seven towns and over 25,000 families, says Chimalpain, *Hist. Conq.*, 115. Herrera states that at the foot of the descent from the range felled trees obstructed the road, and appearances indicated that an ambush had been intended. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. iii.

[36] *Cortés, Cartas*, 80-1. Bernal Diaz places this occurrence at Tlalmanalco, where the chiefs jointly offer eight female slaves, two packs of robes, and 150 pesos' worth of gold. They urge Cortés to remain with them rather than trust himself within Mexico. This being declined, twenty chiefs go with him to receive justice from the emperor at his intercession. *Hist. Verdad.*, 63. 'Se dieron por sus confederados.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 74.

[37] For map of route see, beside those contained in this volume, *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 201, 538, and *Alaman*, in *Prescott's Hist. Conq.* (ed. Mex. 1844), i. 337, 384. The last maps in these books illustrate the later siege operations round Mexico, and so does Orozco y Berra's, in *Ciudad México, Noticias*, 233. Prescott's route map, in *Mex.*, i. p. xxxiii., claims to be based on Humboldt's, with corrections from the chroniclers.

aquatic cities of the lake region. Half of the town stood on piles, and was intersected by canals, wherein the traffic, with canoes, was far livelier than in the streets. The other half lay at the foot of steep hills, upon one of which the Spaniards were encamped. Prompted either by curiosity or by evil purposes, a number of Indians attempted during the night to enter the Spanish quarter, only to pay with their lives for the indiscretion.[38]

In the morning messengers arrived requesting the Spaniards to await the coming of Cacama. Shortly after appeared a procession more brilliant than any yet seen. In a litter profusely ornamented with gold, silver, and feather ornaments, and even inlaid with precious stones, sat the king of Tezcuco, a young man of about twenty-five, carried by eight powerful caciques. As he stepped out, attendants proceeded to sweep the road, removing even the straws, while nobles held over his head a canopy of green feathers, studded with gems, to shield him from the sun. With stately steps the monarch advanced toward Cortés, saluting him in the customary manner.[39] He had come, he said, with these nobles, in the name of Montezuma, their master, to serve him, and to provide all that was needed. He thereupon presented a rich gift, to which Cortés responded with three fine marcasite stones[40] for himself, and with blue glass diamonds for the nobles. In order to sound him, Cacama represented that there existed almost insurmountable obstacles to his entry into Mexico, among them the fears of the populace, which had been aroused by terrible accounts of the cruelty of his followers.[41] Cortés sought to

[38] 'Mataron dellos hasta veynte.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 98. The chiefs complained in secret of Montezuma. *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 578.

[39] By touching the ground with the hand and then bearing it to the lips.

[40] Cortés 'le dió tres piedras, que se llaman margaritas, que tienen dentro de si muchas pinturas de diuersas colores.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 64. A certain vagueness in the phrase has led some to translate it as a present of three fine pearls for Cortés.

[41] 'No les quedaba sino decir que me defenderian el camino.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 81. 'Dieron a entender que les ofenderiã alla, y aun defenderiã el passo y entrada.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 98.

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[46] *Torquemada*, i. 45
[47] For an account o
Native Races, v. 474–7.

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[51] *Peter Martyr*, dec. v. c
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[52] *Cortés*, *Cartas*, 82. Ber
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Hist. Chich., 295.

eager to enter; but there were others who recalled the rumors of its strength, and of the terrible plots which their timid allies declared were to encompass them. "Being men and fearing death, we could not avoid thinking of this," says Bernal Diaz, frankly, "and commending ourselves to God." And as he remembers how warnings failed to deter them, the old soldier bursts forth in self-admiration, "What men have existed in the world so daring?"[53]

[53] *Hist. Verdad.*, 64–5.

CHAPTER XVI.

MEETING WITH MONTEZUMA.

NOVEMBER, 1519.

SOMETHING OF THE CITY—THE SPANIARDS START FROM IZTAPALAPAN—REACH THE GREAT CAUSEWAY—THEY ARE MET BY MANY NOBLES—AND PRESENTLY BY MONTEZUMA—ENTRY INTO MEXICO—THEY ARE QUARTERED IN THE AXAYACATL PALACE—INTERCHANGE OF VISITS.

FROM Iztapalapan the imperial city of the great plateau could clearly be seen, rising in unveiled whiteness from the lake. Almost celestial was its beauty in the eyes of the spoilers; a dream some called it, or, if tangible, only Venice was like it, with its imposing edifices sparkling amid the sparkling waters. Many other places had been so called, but there was no other New World Venice like this.

Sweeping round in sheltering embrace were the green swards and wood-clad knolls on the shore, studded with tributary towns and palatial structures, crowned with foliage, or peeping forth from groves, some venturing nearer to the city, and into the very lake. "We gazed with admiration," exclaims Bernal Diaz, as he compares with the enchanted structures described in the Amadis their grand towers, cues, and edifices, rising in the lake, and all of masonry.

Let us glance at the people and their dwellings; for though we have spoken of them at length elsewhere, we cannot in this connection wholly pass them by.

Two centuries back, the Aztecs, then a small and

carried water from the mountain spring in that vicinity.

Round the southern part of the city stretched a semicircular levee, three leagues in length and thirty feet in breadth, which had been constructed in the middle of the preceding century to protect the place from the torrents which after heavy rains came rushing from the fresh-water lakes of Xochimilco and Chalco. This levee was the chief resort of the people—during the day for bustling merchants and boat crews, during the evening for promenaders, who came to breathe the fresh air soft-blown from the lake, and to watch the setting sun as it gilded the summits of Popocatepetl and his consort.

Traffic, as may be supposed, was conducted chiefly by canals guarded by custom-houses, lined with quays, and provided in some places with docks. Upon these abutted narrow yet well lighted cross streets, connected by bridges, and leading to a number of open squares, the largest of which were the market-places in Tlatelulco and Mexico proper, wherein as many as one hundred thousand people are said to have found room.

Viewed architecturally and singly, the buildings did not present a very imposing appearance, the greater portion being but one story in height. This monotony, however, was relieved to a great extent by the number of temples sacred to superior and local deities which were to be seen in every ward, raised high above the dwellings of mortals, on mounds of varying elevations, and surmounted by towering chapels. Their fires, burning in perpetual adoration of the gods, presented a most impressive spectacle at night. The grandest and most conspicuous of them all was the temple of Huitzilopochtli, which stood in the centre of the city, at the junction of the four avenues, so as to be ever before the eyes of the faithful. It formed a solid stone-faced pyramid about 375 feet long and 300 feet broad at the base,

325 by 250 feet at the summit, and rose in five superimposed, perpendicular terraces to the height of 86 feet. Each terrace receded six feet from the edge of the one beneath, and the stages were so placed that a circuit had to be made of each ledge to gain the succeeding flight, an arrangement equally suited for showy processions and for defence. Surrounding the pyramid was a battlemented stone wall 4800 feet in circumference, and through this led four gates, surmounted by arsenal buildings, facing the four avenues.[4]

The pyramid was quite modern, and owed its erection to Ahuitzotl, who for two years employed upon it an immense force of men, bringing the material from a distance of three or four leagues. It was completed in 1486, and consecrated with thousands of victims. The rich and devout brought, while it was building, a mass of treasures, which were buried in the mound as an offering to the gods, and served subsequently as a powerful incentive for the removal of every vestige of the structure. The present cathedral occupies a portion of the site.[5]

The appearance of the city was likewise improved by terraces of various heights serving as foundation for the dwellings of rich traders, and of the nobles who were either commanded to reside at the capital or attracted by the presence of the court. Their houses were to be seen along the main thoroughfares, differing from the adobe, mud, or rush huts of the poor, in being constructed of porous tetzontli stone, finely polished and whitewashed. Every house stood by itself, separated by narrow lanes or by gardens, and inclosing one or more courts. Broad steps led up the terrace to two gates, one opening on the

[4] For a description of the interior see *Native Races*, ii. 582–8.

[5] Ramirez and Carbajal Espinosa define the limits pretty closely with respect to the modern outline of the city, *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 226–9, and notes in *Prescott's Mex.* (ed. Mex. 1845), ii. app. 103; but Alaman, in his *Disert.*, ii. 202, 246, etc., enters at greater length into the changes which the site has undergone since the conquest, supporting his conclusions with quotations from the *Libro de Cabildo* and other valuable documents.

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A curious view o
Nuremberg in 1524,
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The temple of Huit

It was in the morning of the 8th of November that the Spaniards mustered for the entry into Mexico.

Temixtitan, as the city is called. Round the south-east corner extend the palace and gardens of the emperor, other palaces being scattered on the lake, and connected with the suburbs by short causeways. Less correct in its relative position is the view presented in the old and curious *Libro di Benedetto Bordone*, which has been reproduced in *Montanus, Nieuwe Weereld*, 81, so famous for its cuts, and, of course, with considerable elaborations which by no means promote the correctness, however much the beauty of aspect is improved.

Very similar to this is the view given in some of Solis' editions, that of Antwerp, 1704, for instance, wherein is also found a view of Mexico with its surrounding towns, as Cuitlahuac, Iztapalapan, and others, all grouped closely together within the main lake! A native plan of the capital, said to have been given by Montezuma to Cortés, accords little with Spanish descriptions, and is difficult to understand from its peculiar outline, illustrated with Aztec hieroglyphics. Alaman doubts its origin and correctness. See *Prescott's Mex.* (Mex. ed. 1844), ii. 157. A good copy of it is given in *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 221.

The view in *Libro di Benedetto Bordone, Nel qual si ragiona de tutte l'Isole del mondo*, Vinegia, 1528, 73 leaves, is accompanied by an interesting description of *La gran citta di Temistitan*, remarkable from being perhaps the first sketch of any value given in a cosmographic work. It occupies the greater part of folios vi. to x., devoted to the *terra da Ferdinando Cortese*. Five more folios describe the West Indies and Venezuela region, the only por-

Not far from Iztapalapan they came upon the longest causeway, two leagues in extent, which with the ex-

tions of America known to Bordone when he wrote his book. It was completed in 1521, according to its pontifical license, although not issued till 1528. The versatile author, who figured both as artist and professor, died in 1531, and the later issues of the *Libro*, henceforth called *Isolario*, are by editors whose endeavor to keep apace with the demands of the times is instanced by the edition of 1537, wherein appears a letter on the conquest of Peru. In the mappemonde of the first edition before me, the smaller northern part of the new continent is called *terra del laboratore*, while the southern part bears the inscription *ponēti mōdo nouo*. The two are separated at the Isthmus, in about the latitude of the Mediterranean, by a long strait, at the eastern mouth of which, on the sectional map of folio vi., is written, *stretto pte del mōdo nouo*. Farther east lie the islands *Astores*, *Asmaide*, and *Brasil*. The numerous sectional wood-cut maps and plans bear the conventional outline of a series of concave segments, and of the ten referring to different parts of the new world, seven apply to the Antilles.

The clearest account of Mexico given by any of the conquerors is to be found in *Relatione d'alcune cose della Nuoua Spagna, & della gran città di Temistitan Messicō, fatta per vn gentil'huomo del Signor Fernando Cortese*, wherein the description of the natives, their manners and customs, their towns, the resources of the country, and above all, the capital city, is to be found in concise form, arranged in paragraphs with appropriate headings, and illustrated by a cut of the great temple, which appears far more correct than those given by most subsequent writers. A view of the capital is also appended, showing the surrounding country, and according very nearly with those of the Nuremburg type, except in the faulty relative position to the neighborhood. Nothing is known of the author, who is generally referred to as the Anonymous Conqueror, but the opinion has been hazarded that he was Francisco de Terrazas, mayordomo of Cortés. His account was evidently written in Spanish, but did not see the light till Ramusio issued it in Italian under the above title. It forms one of the most valuable documents for the history of Mexico to be found in this prized collection of voyages and travels, the first large work of its class. No branch of literature obtained a greater stimulus from the discovery of Columbus. He it was who broke the barrier which had confined the ardor of voyagers, and who led the revival of maritime enterprise, creating a curiosity among the stayers-at-home that could be satiated only with repeated editions of narratives relating to expeditions and conquests. The number of these narratives became, within a few years, so large as to require their grouping into special collections for the sake of cheapness and convenience. The earliest is probably the *Paesi Nouamente retrouati, Et Nouo Mondo da Alberico vesputio;* By Fracanzo or Fracanzano da Montalboddo, Vicenza, 1507, mentioned by *Tiraboschi, Storia della literatura italiana*. This was reproduced in 1508 by Madrignani, at Milan. According to Panzer, Ruchamer issued the same year a somewhat fuller collection at Nuremberg, under the title of *Newe Unbekanthe landte Und eine Newe weldte*, with eight pieces, among them the voyages of Columbus, Ojeda, Pinzon, and Vespucci. A similar work was issued by the Italian Angiolelo, in 1519.

The best known of these early collections, and by many regarded as the first issued in German, is the *Novvs Orbis Regionvm ac Insolarvm Veteribvs Incognitarvm; Basileæ apvd Io Hervagivm, Mense Martio, anno* M.D.XXXII., 4to, 584 pages, beside unnumbered leaves. 'La plus ancienne de ces (Latin) collections,' says Boucher, *Bibl. Univ.*, i. 55. Although prepared by John Huttich, the canon of Strasbourg, it is better known under the name of Simon Grynæus, who wrote the introductory and revised it at the request of Hervagius, the publisher, a well known bookman, greatly esteemed by Erasmus. Meusel, *Bibl. Hist.*, iii. pt. i. 221, gives it with punctilious fairness the title of *Collectio*

line northward to the heart of the city.[7] They passed several towns, some on the shore, others touching the causeway,[8] and supported to a great extent by the manufacture of salt from the lake water. The causeway had been reserved for the passage of the troops, out of deference to the desire manifested to keep the natives at a respectful distance,[9] but both sides were lined with canoes bearing an eager crowd of sightseers. About half a league from the city the causeway formed a junction with the road from Xochimilco and Coyohuacan, at a spot called Acachinanco,[10] where a stout battlemented wall, fully ten feet in height, and surmounted by two towers, guarded the two gates for entry and exit.

Entering here the Spaniards were met by a procession of over one thousand representative people from the capital,[11] richly arrayed in embroidered robes, and with jewelry of pendent stones and gold.

The third volume is entirely devoted to America, and contains all the most valuable documents known up to the time of its first issue, such as the relations of Martyr, Oviedo, Cortés, and his contemporaries in Mexico, Pizarro, Verazzano, Carthier, the *Relation di Nvuno di Gusman*, in several parts, and the valuable *Relatione per vn gentil'huomo del Signor Fernando Cortese*. The volume begins with a learned discourse by Ramusio on ancient knowledge of a land to the west, and of causes leading to the discovery. At the end of the 1565 edition is a map of America, showing Lower California as a wide peninsula, and *Terra del Fuego* joined to the land of the *Circolo Antartico*. The comparative crudeness of the wood-cuts and maps has not made the work much esteemed by collectors, but its value even now, for reference, is unquestioned. The set was dedicated to Hieronimo Fracastoro, the great poet and physician, born mouthless, yet so eloquent. *Scaliger, Aræ Fracastoreæ*. At the end of the *Discorso sopra Perv*, iii. 371, Ramusio says: 'Et questa narratione con breuità habbiamo voluto discorrere per satisfattione de i lettori, laquale piu distintamente legeranno nel quarto volume.' According to Fontanini, *Bibl.*, 274, the material for this volume lay prepared in manuscript, only to perish in the disastrous fire of November, 1557.

[7] It is still one of the main roads, known under Spanish dominion as Calzada de Iztapalapan, now as S. Antonio Abad.

[8] Cortés names the well built Mexicaltzinco, Niciaca, and Huchilohuchico (now Churubusco), to which he gives respectively 3000, 6000, and 4000 to 5000 families. *Cartas*, 83–4. Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 99, names Coioacan instead of Niciaca, and this change is generally accepted, for the latter name is probably a mistake by the copyist or printer. *Peter Martyr*, dec. v. cap. iii.

[9] 'Mandò que vn Indio en lengua Mexicana, fuesse pregonando que nadie se atrauessasse por el camino, sino queria ser luego muerto.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. v.

[10] Also referred to as Fort Xoloc. 'En donde hoy la garita de *San Antonio Abad*,' says Ramirez, in *Prescott* (ed. Mex. 1845), ii. 104.

[11] Herrera, who is usually moderate, swells the figure to 4000.

These passed before the visitors in a file, touching the ground with their hand and carrying it to the lip in token of reverence. This ceremony occupied an hour, after which the march was resumed. At the junction of the causeway with the main avenue of the city was a wooden bridge ten paces wide, easily removable, inside of which Cortés halted to await the emperor, then approaching.[12] On either side of the street, closely along by the houses, came processions of nobles, headed by lords and court dignitaries, all of whom marched with bare feet and bowed heads. This humility was owing to the presence of the emperor, who in almost solitary grandeur kept the centre of the road, borne in a richly adorned litter on the shoulders of his favorite courtiers, and followed by a few princes and leading officials.[13] Three dignitaries preceded him, one of whom bore aloft three wands, signifying the approach of the imperial head of the tripartite alliance, so that all persons in sight might lower their heads in humble reverence till he had passed.

On nearing the Spaniards Montezuma stepped from the litter, supported on either side by King Cacama and Cuitlahuatzin, his nephew and brother, and followed by the king of Tlacopan and other princes. Four prominent caciques held over his head a canopy profusely covered with green feathers set with gold and silver, and precious stones, both fixed and pendent, and before them attendants swept the road and spread carpets, so that the imperial feet might not be

[12] The avenue is now called el Rastro. The suburb here bore the name of Huitzitlan. '*Vitzillan* que es cabe el hospital de la Concepcion.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 23. At Tocititlan, says Duran, *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 439. 'Junto de la Hermita de San Anton.' *Torquemada*, i. 450. 'Segun una antigua tradicion conservada en el hospital de Jesus, el punto en que le encontró fué frente á éste, y por recuerdo del suceso se hizo la fundacion en aquel parage.' *Alaman, Diserl.*, i. 103; and *Ramirez*, note in *Prescott* (ed. Mex. 1845), ii. 103. The previous authorities indicate, however, that the meeting took place farther from the centre of the city.

[13] Chimalpain mentions among others Tetlepanquezatl, king of Tlacopan, Yzquauhtzin Tlacochcalcatl, lord or lieutenant of Tlatelulco, captain-general Atlixcatzin, son of Ahuitzatl, and Tepehuatzin, son of Titotzin. *Hist. Conq.*, 125. Sahagun differs slightly in the names. *Hist. Conq.*, 24–5.

soiled. The monarch and his supporters were similarly dressed, in blue *tilmatlis* which, bordered with gold and richly embroidered and bejewelled, hung in loose folds from the neck, where they were secured by a knot. On their heads were mitred crowns of gold with *quetzal* plumes, and sandals with golden soles adorned their feet, fastenings embossed with gold and precious stones.[14]

Montezuma was about forty years of age, of good stature, with a thin though well-proportioned body, somewhat fairer than the average hue of his dusky race. The rather long face, with its fine eyes, bore an expression of majestic gravity, tinged with a certain benignity which at times deepened into tenderness. Round it fell the hair in a straight fringe covering the ears, and met by a slight growth of black beard.[15]

With a step full of dignity he advanced toward Cortés, who had dismounted to meet him. As they saluted,[16] Montezuma tendered a bouquet which he had brought in token of welcome, while the Spaniard took from his own person and placed round the neck of the emperor a showy necklace of glass, in

[14] For dress, see *Native Races*, ii. 178 et seq. Cortés gives sandals only to Montezuma, but it appears that persons of royal blood were allowed to retain them before the emperor, as Ixtlilxochitl also affirms. *Hist. Chich.*, 295; *Oviedo*, iii. 500; *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, iv. 1121.

[15] 'Cenzeño.... y el rostro algo largo, è alegre.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 67. 'Motecçuma quiere dezir hõbre sañudo y graue.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 103; *Acosta, Hist. Ind.*, 502–3. It is from this, probably, that so many describe him as serious in expression. A number of portraits have been given of the monarch, differing greatly from one another. The best known is Prescott's, taken from the painting for a long time owned by the Condes de Miravalle, the descendants of Montezuma; but this lacks the Indian type, and partakes too much of the ideal. Clavigero's, *Storia Mess.*, iii. 8, appears more like him, though it is too small and too roughly sketched to convey a clear outline. Far better is the half-size representation prefixed to *Linati, Costumes*, which indeed corresponds very well with the text description. The face in *Armin, Alte Mex.*, 104, indicates a coarse Aztec warrior, and that in *Montanus, Nieuwe Weereld*, 244–5, an African prince, while the native picture, as given in *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 6, is purely conventional. The text description, based chiefly on Bernal Diaz, is not inappropriate to the weak, vacillating character of the monarch. Clavigero makes him nearly 54 years old, and Brasseur de Bourbourg 51; but 40, as Bernal Diaz calls him, appears to be more correct.

[16] 'Ellos y él ficieron asimismo ceremonia de besar la tierra.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 85.

form of pearls, diamonds, and iridescent balls, strung upon gold cords and scented with musk.[17] With these baubles, which were as false as the assurances of friendship accompanying them, the great monarch deigned to be pleased, for if every piece of glass had been a diamond they would have possessed no greater value in his eyes. As a further expression of his good-will, Cortés offered to embrace the monarch, but was restrained by the two princes, who regarded this as too great a familiarity with so sacred a person.[18] The highest representative of western power and grandeur, whose fame had rung in the ears of the Spaniards since they landed at Vera Cruz, thus met the daring adventurer who with his military skill and artful speech had arrogated to himself the position of a demi-god.

After an interchange of friendly assurances the emperor returned to the city, leaving Cuitlahuatzin to escort the general.[19] The procession of nobles now filed by to tender their respects, whereupon the march

[17] 'De margaritas y diamantes de vidrio.' *Id.* 'Que se dizen margagitas.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 65.

[18] Solis assumes that Cortés was repelled when he sought to place the necklace on Montezuma. The latter chides the jealous princes, and permits him. *Hist. Mex.*, i. 370. 'Pareceme que el Cortès....le daua la mano derecha, y el Montecuma no la quiso, è se la diò â Cortès.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 65. This phrase, which applies equally to offering the right hand, has been so understood by those who notice it; but as this would be confusing, Vetancurt, for instance, assumes improbably that Marina offers her right hand to Montezuma, which he disregards, giving his instead to Cortés. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 129.

[19] *Cortés, Cartas*, 85. Ixtlilxochitl has it that Cacama was left with him; and Bernal Diaz, that the lord of Coyuhuacan also remained. According to Cortés, Montezuma accompanied him all the way to the quarters in the city, keeping a few steps before. Gomara and Herrera follow this version. But Bernal Diaz states explicitly that he left the Spaniards to follow, allowing the people an opportunity to gaze; and Ixtlilxochitl assumes that he goes in order to be ready to receive him at the quarters. *Hist. Chich.*, 295. It is not probable that Montezuma would expose himself to the inconvenience of walking so far back, since this involved troublesome ceremonies, as we have seen, not only to himself but to the procession, and interfered with the people who had come forth to gaze. The native records state that Montezuma at once surrendered to Cortés the throne and city. 'Y se fueron ambos juntos â la par para las casas reales.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 23–4. Leading Cortés into the Tozi hermitage, at the place of meeting, he made the nobles bring presents and tender allegiance, while he accepted also the faith. *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 440–1.

was resumed to the sound of drums and wind instruments. At the head were scouts on horseback, followed by the cavalry, under Cortés, who had by his side two large greyhounds; then came the infantry, with the artillery and baggage in the centre; and last, the allies.[20] The streets, which had been deserted by the people out of deference to the emperor and to the requirements of his procession, were now alive with lookers-on, particularly in the entrances to the alleys, in the windows, and on the roofs.[21]

At the plaza, wherein rose the great pyramidal temple surrounded on all sides by palatial edifices, the procession turned to the right, and Cortés was led up the steps of an extensive range of buildings, known as the Axayacatl palace, which faced the eastern side of the temple inclosure.[22] Here Montezuma appeared, and, through a court-yard shaded by colored awnings

[20] About 6000 in all. 'Nosotros aun no llegauamos á 450 soldados.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 65. Prescott places the number at about 350.

[21] According to Sahagun not a soul was to be seen, either upon the causeway or along the streets, the people having taken this manner to express their indignation at the semi-forcible entry of the Spaniards. Montezuma came to receive them purely out of a feeling of humanity. Startled at this solitude, Cortés fears dangers, and vows, if all goes well, to build a church. This was the origin, says Bustamante, of the Hospital de Jesus. *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. Mex. 1840), 79–84. See note 12, this chapter. Brasseur de Bourbourg accepts this view. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 212–13. Still Sahagun describes the interview with Cortés as most cordial. He is in fact contradictory, and it is evident that the order issued to the people to keep the narrow causeway clear, and the etiquette which required them to give way to the emperor, have been hastily interpreted by the chronicler into 'deserted streets' and 'popular indignation.' Had the citizens objected to receive the strangers, the bridges could have been raised against them.

[22] 'Au coin de la rue *del Indio triste* et de celle de Tacuba,' says Humboldt, *Vues*, i. 58, prudently, without attempting to give its extent. Ramirez and Carbajal do so, however, and in allowing it about the same length as the temple inclosure, they place it right across the eastern avenue of the city, which like the other three is admitted to have terminated at one of the temple gates. *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 222; *Ramirez*, notes in *Prescott's Mex.* (ed. Mex. 1845), ii. app. 103. 'Donde hoy las Casas de el Marqués del Valle,' says Lorenzana, in *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 86, a statement disputed by later writers. Prescott quotes Humboldt, but evidently does not understand him, for he places the palace 'facing the western gate,' which is not only on the wrong side, but across the western avenue. *Mex.*, ii. 79. 'Adonde.... tenia el gran Monteçuma sus grandes adoratorios de idolos....nos lleuaron á aposentar á aquella casa por causa, que como nos llamauã Teules, é por tales nos tenian, que estuuiessemos entre sus idolos.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 66. The idea of being regarded as a god seems to have pleased the old soldier immensely.

and cooled by a playing fountain he conducted him by the hand into a large hall. An attendant came forward with a basket of flowers, wherein lay "two necklaces made of the shell of a species of red crawfish," so they said, and "much esteemed by the natives, from each of which hung eight crawfish of gold, wrought with great perfection, and nearly as large as the span of a hand."[23] These the emperor placed round the neck of the general, and presented at the same time wreaths to his officers. Seating him upon a gilt and bejewelled dais,[24] he announced that everything there was at his disposal; every want would be attended to. Then with delicate courtesy he retired, so that the Spaniards might refresh themselves and arrange their quarters.

The building contained several courts, surrounded by apartments, matted and furnished with low tables and *icpalli* stools. Everything about the place was neat and of a dazzling whiteness, relieved by green branches and festoons. The finer rooms were provided with cotton tapestry, and adorned with figures in stucco and color, and with feather and other ornaments set with gold and silver fastenings. Here and there were vases with smouldering incense diffusing sweet perfume. So large was the place that even the allies found room. The halls for the soldiers, accommodating one hundred and fifty men each, were provided with superior beds of mats, with cotton cushions and coverlets, and even with canopies. Cortés was glad to find the building protected by strong walls and turrets, and after arranging the men according to their corps, he ordered the guns to be planted and the sentinels posted, issuing also instructions for the considerate treatment of the natives, and for inter-

[23] They doubtless formed a double necklace, with gold setting and pendants. Cortés writes that on the way to the palace Montezuma halted to place them round his neck. *Cartas*, 85; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 100–1; *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 23.

[24] 'A throne of gold,' is Peter Martyr's briefer yet grander term. dec. v. cap. iii.

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Being asked what relationship the men bore to one another, Cortés said that all were brothers, friends, and companions, with the exception of a few servants.[31]

Montezuma afterward elicited from the interpreters who the officers and gentlemen were, and in conferring favors he sent them more valuable presents through the mayordomo, while the rest obtained inferior gifts by the hand of servants.[32] At his departure from the Spanish quarter the soldiers with redoubled alacrity fell into line to salute a prince who had impressed them both with his gentle breeding and his generosity, and the artillery thundered forth a salvo, partly to demonstrate that the caged lightning was a fearful reality.[33]

The following forenoon Cortés sent to announce that he would make a return visit, and several officers came to escort him. Arrayed in his finest attire, with Alvarado, Velazquez de Leon, Ordaz, Sandoval, and five soldiers, he proceeded to the residence of Montezuma, in the new palace as it has been called, situated in the south-east corner of the great temple plaza.[34] If they had admired the palace forming their own

Hist. Mex., 101-2; *Peter Martyr*, dec. v. cap. iii.; *Duran*, *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 441-2; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. vi.; *Torquemada*, i. 452-3; *Ixtlilxochitl*, *Hist. Chich.*, 296; *Peralta*, *Not. Hist.*, 107-8. Acosta implies that Cortés now reconciled the Tlascaltecs with the Aztecs. *Hist. Ind.*, 521.

[31] 'Eramos hermanos en el amor, y amistad, é personas mui principales,' is the way Bernal Diaz expresses it. *Hist. Verdad.*, 66.

[32] *Gomara*, *Hist. Mex.*, 102-3. 'Los haçia proveer luego, assi de mugeres de serviçio, como de cama, é les daba á cada uno una joya que pessaba hasta diez pessos de oro.' *Oviedo*, iii. 500-1.

[33] *Vetancort*, *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 129. Sahagun, followed by Acosta, Brasseur de Bourbourg, and others, states that the artillery was discharged at night to startle the natives. *Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 85.

[34] It is so depicted in the old Nuremberg view of the city, already referred to. Ramirez, Carbajal Espinosa, and Alaman give the extent, and the latter enters into quite a lengthy account of its situation with respect to present and former outlines of the quarter. *Disert.*, ii. 202, etc.; *Carbajal Espinosa*, *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 221-2; *Ramirez*, notes in *Prescott's Mex.* (ed. Mex. 1845), ii. app. 103. Humboldt places it opposite the southern half of the western temple side, *Essai Pol.*, i. 190, but that site is assigned by all the above historians to the old palace of Montezuma, so called—not the Axayacatl where Cortés was quartered. The mistake is probably owing to his ignorance of the fact that the residence of the Cortés family stood first on the site of the new palace of Montezuma, whence it was moved to that of the old palace when the government bought the former.

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CHAPTER XVII.

CAPTURE OF THE EMPEROR.

NOVEMBER, 1519.

CORTÉS INSPECTS THE CITY—VISITS THE TEMPLE WITH MONTEZUMA—DISCOVERY OF BURIED TREASURE—PRETENDED EVIDENCES OF TREACHERY—CORTÉS PLANS A DARK DEED—PREPARATIONS FOR THE SEIZURE OF MONTEZUMA—WITH A FEW MEN CORTÉS ENTERS THE AUDIENCE-CHAMBER OF THE KING—PERSUASIVE DISCOURSE—WITH GENTLE FORCE MONTEZUMA IS INDUCED TO ENTER THE LION'S DEN.

CORTÉS failed not to make diligent inquiries and examinations into the approaches, strength, and topography of the city, but he longed for a view from one of the great temples which, rising high above all other edifices, would enable him to verify his observations. He also desired to obtain a closer insight into the resources of the place. With these objects he sent to Montezuma for permission to make a tour through the town to the Tlatelulco market and temple.[1] This was granted; and attended by the cavalry and most of the soldiers, all fully armed, Cortés set out for that suburb, guided by a number of caciques. It was here that the largest market-place in the city was situated.[2]

[1] They had now been four days in Mexico, without going farther than the palace, says Bernal Diaz. A page named Orteguilla, who had already acquired a smattering of Aztec, was sent with the interpreters to ask this favor. *Hist. Verdad.*, 69.

[2] Soldiers who had been in Rome and Constantinople declared that never had they seen so large and orderly a market, with so large an attendance. Bernal Diaz indicates the site of the plaza to have been where the church of Santiago de Tlatelulco was erected, and this still remains under the same name, over a mile north-west-by-north of the central plaza of Mexico. *Hist. Verdad.*, 70–1. The old maps of Mexico already spoken of give the same site, and Alaman's investigations point out correctly the street which led and leads to it, although he has failed to notice the above authorities, which give the very site. *Disert.*, ii. 282–5.

From this centre of trade the Spaniards proceeded to the lofty temple, which occupied one end of the Tlatelulco market-place,[3] and whither Montezuma had already gone to prepare for their reception, and to propitiate the idols for the intrusion by prayers and sacrifices. He hoped, no doubt, that his presence would prove a check upon the impulsive hands and tongues of the guests. Dismounting at the gate, the riders advanced with most of the soldiers through the temple court, and climbed the one hundred and more steps which led to the summit. Some priests and chiefs had been sent by Montezuma to assist Cortés to ascend, but he preferred to trust to himself. This pyramid, unlike that in Mexico proper, appears to have had but one continuous stair-way leading up the western slope.[4] The first sight which met the Spaniards on reaching the summit was the sacrificial cage for holding victims, and a large snake-skin drum, whose sombre tones gave appropriate effect to the horrible rites enacted around it.

Montezuma came out of one of the chapels to welcome them, expressing a fear that they must have been fatigued by the ascent, but Cortés hastened to assure him that Spaniards never tired. Calling their attention to the view here afforded of the city and its surroundings, he stood silent for a while to let the beauteous vision work its own enchantment. Around on every side spread the lake and its connecting waters, bordered with prairies and fields. Forests and towns intermingled on the green carpet, and extended far away till they disappeared in the shadows of the hills. The soldiers recognized the settlements and

[3] It has been generally accepted that the temple in the centre of the city was visited, but Bernal Diaz, who is the only narrator of this excursion, states distinctly, in several places, that the pyramid ascended was situated in the Tlatelulco market-place, 'adonde está aora señor Santiago, que se dize el Taltelulco.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 70–1. The description of the temple court and interior is somewhat confused, and evidently combines points which belong to the central temple.

[4] Hence the contradictions between descriptions and views furnished by different chroniclers, which have so greatly puzzled modern writers.

towns which they had passed, and saw the causeways which on three sides connected with the mainland. Beneath them lay a vast expanse of terraced roofs, intersected by streets and canals teeming with passengers and canoes. Here and there rose palatial edifices and towering temples, interspersed with open squares, and with gardens shaded by trees and relieved by the silvery jets of the fountain. At their feet lay the market through which they had just passed, alive with busy Lilliputians, whose talk and cries reached their ears in a confused murmur. Cortés could not fail to be impressed by scenes so varied and so attractive, but the æsthetic aspect was in him speedily overshadowed by the practical sense of the military leader. Then rose on high his soul as he thought to secure for Spain so rich an inheritance as the great city with its vast population, and turning to Father Olmedo he suggested that the site ought to be obtained for a church; but the prudent friar remonstrated that the emperor appeared to be in no mood to listen to such a proposal.

Cortés accordingly contented himself with asking to see the idols, and after consulting the priests Montezuma led them past the piscina with the vestal fire into the chapel. Withdrawing a tasselled curtain he displayed the images, glittering with ornaments of gold and precious stones, which at first drew the attention of the beholders from the hideous form and features. Before them stood the stone of sacrifice, still reeking with gore, and around lay the instruments for securing the human victim and for tearing open the breast. On one altar could be seen three hearts, and on the other five, offered to the idols, and even now warm and palpitating with life. The interior walls were so smeared with human blood as to obscure their original color, and to emit a fetid odor which made the Spaniards glad to reach the open air again.

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quently tried by the conquerors in the Antilles, and the opportune seizure of the Cempoalan lord had not been forgotten; but this had been effected under the impulse of the moment, while the chieftain was surrounded by Spaniards. Here was required not only a calm resolution, unflinching to the end, but a well laid stratagem. Cortés stood prepared with both.

Producing the letter from Villa Rica, which had been kept secret all this time, he gave an account of the unfortunate successes at Almería, describing in exaggerated terms the treachery of Quauhpopoca, and consequently of Montezuma as his master, and stirring the feelings of the council by an appeal to avenge their comrades.[10] Here was a pretence[11] which served also to set aside the suggestion that the emperor would be only too glad to let them depart in peace, for it was argued that a retreat now, since the Spaniards stood revealed as mortals, would draw upon them not only the contempt of allies and countrymen, but a general uprising, with the most fatal results. Retreat meant also the surrender of all hopes of wealth, preferment, and honor, to be followed by punishment and disgrace for their irregular proceedings so far. With Montezuma in their power, they possessed a hostage whose sacredness in the eyes of his subjects insured their safety, and made the people pliable to their will, while disaffected vassals could be secured by alliances, or by the promise of reforms. Should the seizure result in the monarch's death, the succession would doubtless become the cause of division and dissension, in the midst of which the Spaniards might influence affairs in their own interest. Thus were answered the various objections raised.

[10] Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 73, followed by a number of other writers, states that the letter was received at Mexico the morning after this meeting, but it has been shown that he must be wrong. He mentions as one of the statements in the letter that the Totonacs were in revolt, and it is probable that Cortés may have said so to show the soldiers that retreat was cut off, and that seizure was the only recourse.

[11] As both Peter Martyr and Gomara call it.

was a mark of great favor.[16] Cortés sought to decline for himself the favor, on the ground that he could not marry. Montezuma nevertheless insisted, and he yielded not unwillingly.[17]

Assuming a serious tone, the latter now produced the letter from Villa Rica, and informed the emperor that he had received an account of the outrageous conduct of Quauhpopoca, resulting in the death of some of his men, and that he, the sovereign, had been accused of being the instigator. Montezuma gave an indignant denial,[18] and Cortés hastened to assure him that he believed the charge to be false, but as commander of a party he had to account for the men to his king, and must ascertain the truth. In this Montezuma said he would aid him; and calling a trusted officer, he gave him a bracelet from his wrist bearing the imperial signet—a precious stone graven with his likeness[19]—bidding him to bring Quauhpopoca and his accomplices, by force, if necessary.[20] Cortés expressed himself pleased, but added that, in order to cover his responsibility as commander, and to convince his men

[16] 'Y otras hijas de señores á algunos de mi compañía.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 89. But the customary mark of favor was to give them from his harem. See *Native Races*, ii.

[17] 'Per non dar disgusto al Re, e per avere occasione di farla Cristiana,' is Clavigero's excuse for the acceptance. *Storia Messi.*, iii. 93. Brasseur de Bourbourg, and some other writers, assume that Cortés declined; but the original authorities all say or intimate that he accepted. Even Cortés himself writes in his letter to the emperor, 'después....de haberme él dado algunas joyas de oro y una hija suya,' etc. *Cartas*, 89. 'Le persuadió,' says Ixtlilxochitl, *Hist. Chich.*, 296. Gomara is even more explicit, and Herrera says that Montezuma insisted, 'porque queria tener nietos de hombre tan valeroso.' dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. ii. The affair is perhaps less important in itself than as index to the character of Cortés, who could accept so intimate an offer with one hand while he prepared a blow with the other. It might also be made to indicate that Montezuma could have had no base designs against him when he made the uncalled-for offer of intrusting a daughter (if such she was) to his keeping. Still the imperial character would not have suffered had it been shown that this was but an artifice to lull his intended victim into a false security.

[18] Some authors, like Herrera and Torquemada, say that he denied all knowledge of the occurrence, calling it an invention of enemies.

[19] *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 297. 'Q̃ tenia la figura de Vitzilopuchtli,' *Gomara*, 123; and so says Bernal Diaz. Tapia states that Montezuma told Cortés to send two Spaniards with the messengers; but he doubtless declined to risk two lives on such a trip. *Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 583–4.

[20] 'Ingrato rey!' exclaims Gallo, in commenting upon this surrender of a devoted officer. *Hombres Ilust. Mex.*, i. 318.

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He would be treated with every consideration, and should enjoy his usual comfort, surrounded by favorites and councillors. The plan involved no change beyond that of residence, to a place where he would be under secret surveillance.

Montezuma still objected, and time was passing.[24] The companions of Cortés becoming nervous at this delay, Velazquez de Leon exclaimed in his stentorian voice: "Why so many words, your worship? Let us either carry him off or despatch him. Tell him that if he calls out or creates a disturbance we shall kill him!"[25] Turning in alarm to Marina, Montezuma inquired what was meant. Full of pity for the troubled monarch, she told him that the men were becoming impatient at his delay. She besought him, as he valued his life, to accede to their wishes and go with them. He would be treated with all the honor due to his rank. A glance at the frowning faces of the Spaniards confirmed the mysterious words of the interpreter, and chilled him to the heart. He had heard too many accounts of the resolution and cruelty of these men not to believe them capable of anything. Were he to call for aid they would no doubt kill him and destroy the city; for few as they were they had proved themselves equal to hosts of natives.

The unhappy monarch yielded, since it was so decreed—by the sublime audacity of this score of adventurers. The spirit of Axayacatl had evidently not survived in the son, and the prestige of his early career as military leader had dwindled to a mere shadow in the effeminate lap of court-life.[26] Summoning his attendants, he ordered a litter brought.

[24] 'Estuuieron mas de media hora en estas platicas.' *Id.*, 74. Tapia and others say four hours, which is unlikely.

[25] 'Porque mas vale que desta vez asseguremos nuestras vidas, ò las per damos.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 75.

[26] 'Era, ó muy falto de ánimo, ó pusilánime, ó muy prudente.' *Oviedo*, iii. 289. 'En él se cumplió lo que de él se decia, que todo hombre cruel es co barde, aunque á la verdad, era ya llegada la voluntad de Dios.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Rel.*, 411.

Everything had been quietly conducted, and since none ventured to question the emperor, his command was silently obeyed; but the mysterious interview and his agitation roused their suspicions, and the rumor spread that something extraordinary was about to happen. Wondering and murmuring crowds had already collected along the route between the two palaces when the emperor appeared. On seeing the sorrowing faces of the favorites who bore him, and observing how closely it was surrounded by the Spanish soldiers who acted as guard of honor, their fears became confirmed. The distance to the quarters was too short, however, and the news had not yet travelled far enough, to allow a serious demonstration.[27] But not long after the plaza in front

[27] Bernal Diaz intimates clearly enough that no demonstration was made till after his arrival. *Hist. Verdad.*, 75. And so does Cortés. 'Llorando lo tomaron en ella [the litter] con mucho silencio, y así nos fuimos hasta el aposento donde estaba, sin haber alboroto en la ciudad, aunque se comenzó á mover. Pero sabido por el dicho Muteczuma, envió a mandar que no lo hubiese; y así, hubo toda quietud.' *Cartas*, 90. Ixtlilxochitl, however, allows Montezuma to stay long enough in his palace, after ordering the litter, to enable the lords and nobles to come and offer their services. A delay like this, which the Spaniards certainly never could have permitted, might have given time for the tumultuous gathering which he describes. *Hist. Chich.*, 297. Prescott, in following this version, makes the emperor so far overstep his usual dignity as to 'call out' to the people to disperse. 'Tambien detuvieron consigo á *Itcuaultzin*, gobernador del Tlatilulco,' says Sahagun, while the leading nobles 'cuando fue preso Mocthecuzoma le desampararon y se escondieron.' *Hist. Conq.*, 25.

The seizure has, like the equally prominent episodes of the massacre at Cholula, and the scuttling of the fleet, aroused no little comment in justification or condemnation. 'Now that I am old,' says Bernal Diaz, 'I stop to consider the heroic deeds then performed, and I do say that our achievements were not effected by ourselves, but were all brought about by God; for what men have existed in the world who, less than 450 soldiers in number, dared to enter into so strong a city as Mexico, larger than Venice, and so remote from Castile, to seize so great a lord?' *Hist. Verdad.*, 76. 'Never Greek or Roman, nor of other nation, since kings exist, performed a like deed, only Fernando Cortés, to seize Motecçuma, a king most powerful, in his own house, in a place most strong, amid an infinity of people, while possessing but 450 companions.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 124. Commenting on this, Torquemada adds that 'it was indeed a deed for daring never seen, and must be attributed to God rather than to human heart.' i. 458. Solis of course fails not to extol the genius and daring of his hero, whose deed 'appears rather in the light of a fable' than in consonance with simple history. *Hist. Mex.*, i. 448. 'A deed which makes one tremble even to conceive, and much more to carry out. But God had so determined it.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 296. 'History contains nothing parallel to this event, either with respect to the temerity of the attempt, or the success of the execution,' etc. *Robertson's Hist. Am.*, ii. 60. 'An expedient, which none but the most daring spirit, in the most desperate ex-

CHAPTER XVIII.

DOUBLY REFINED DEALINGS.

1519–1520.

HOLLOW HOMAGE TO THE CAPTIVE KING—MONTEZUMA HAS HIS WIVES AND NOBLES—HE RULES HIS KINGDOM THROUGH THE SPANIARDS—THE PLAYFUL PAGE—LIBERALITY OF THE MONARCH—THE SACRED TREASURES—CORTÉS RESENTS THE INSULTS OF THE GUARD—DIVERSIONS—QUAUHPOPOCA, HIS SON AND OFFICERS, BURNED ALIVE—PLANTATIONS FORMED—VILLA RICA AFFAIRS—VESSELS BUILT—PLEASURE EXCURSIONS.

A POMPOUS reception was accorded the imperial prisoner. With no small ceremony was he conducted to apartments adjoining those of Cortés, as selected by himself, and there surrounded by all accustomed comforts and every show of greatness. At hand were his favorite wives, his most devoted servants; he held court daily, received ambassadors, issued orders, and with the aid of his learned jurists administered justice. To outward appearance the monarch was as absolute as ever; yet Montezuma knew that his glory had departed, that the continued forms of greatness were hollow, and that his power was but the power of a puppet. He was wise enough to know that a strong man is not to be trusted who is officiously kind to a weak one.

Henceforth the power of the nation, in the hands of these insidious strangers, was to be directed against himself. It was a cunning policy, craftily conceived and deftly executed.

Cortés took care that everything round the prisoner should move smoothly, and that his presence in the Spanish quarters should appear to the natives a

Espionage was also established on the emperor in his intercourse with courtiers, by placing in the apartment the page Orteguilla, who had acquired a fair knowledge of Aztec. Of prepossessing appearance, agreeable and sprightly in manner, the youth became a favorite with the captive king. Among other things, the little spy gave the monarch an insight into Spanish customs and proceedings at home and abroad, into the power and grandeur of the Castilian king, and into the mysteries of the faith. Being constantly together they grew familiar, Montezuma delighting to play pranks on the boy, throwing aloft his hat, and laughing at his efforts to regain it. These tricks were always followed by a liberal reward.[3]

Montezuma was indeed most liberal with all who came in contact with him, as became the character of a great and rich prince. Not only jewels, robes, and curiosities, but male and female slaves, were freely dispensed, partly no doubt with a view to secure good treatment from the guard. A considerate thoughtfulness and gentle manner added to his popularity, and "whenever he ordered," says the old soldier, "we flew to obey." The inconsiderate pride and selfishness of the independent monarch seems to have disappeared in the prisoner, yet like the captive hawk he was submissive only to his masters. Orteguilla kept him informed of the rank and character of the men, and became the recognized medium for his favors. He represented, for instance, that Bernal Diaz longed to be the master of a pretty maiden, and Montezuma, having noticed the exceeding deference of the soldier, called him, saying that he would bestow on him a

The result was an increase of the guard, Alvarez Chico being placed with 60 men to watch the rear of the quarters, and Andrés de Monjarraz the front, with the same number, each watch consisting of twenty men. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. iii. Bernal Diaz intimates that the guarding of Montezuma proved a severe strain on the soldiers; but, situated as they were, vigilance was ever required, and still greater must have been the danger had he not been in their power.

[3] Herrera calls him Peña, which may have been one of his names. dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. v. Bernal Diaz assumes that Montezuma asked Cortés to give him the page, after the execution of Quauhpopoca. *Hist. Verdad.*, 75.

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and exhibited the tactics which contributed so powerfully to Spanish supremacy over native arms. He also enjoyed sports, and among games the *totoloque* was his favorite. This consisted in throwing small golden balls at pieces of the same metal set up as targets at a certain distance. Five points won the stakes. Cortés often played it with him, and Alvarado, who kept count for the general, usually marked more points than he was entitled to. Montezuma playfully protested against such marking, although what Cortés won he gave to the Mexican attendants, while Montezuma presented his gains to the Spanish guard.[13]

Montezuma was at times allowed to visit his palaces, and to enjoy the hunting-field, but these trips were of rare occurrence, owing to the danger of popular demonstrations.[14] On such occasions, says Cortés, the escort of prominent Mexicans numbered at least three thousand. The first time Montezuma requested this privilege it was for the purpose of offering prayer and sacrifice at the great temple, as required by his gods, he said; and although Cortés did not like the arrangement, his prisoner convinced him that this public demonstration was necessary, in order to show the people that he was not kept in compulsory confinement, but remained with the

[13] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 77. 'Un giuoco, che gli Spagnuoli chiamavano il *bodoque*.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 97. Bodoque signifies balls in this connection. When Alvarado lost, he with great show of liberality paid in chalchiuites, stones which were highly treasured by the natives, but worth nothing to the Spaniards. Montezuma paid in quoits, worth at least 50 ducats. One day he lost 40 or 50 quoits, and with pleasure, since it gave him the opportunity to be generous. B. V. de Tapia testifies that Alvarado used to cheat in playing cards with him and others. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 51–2. Another way of gratifying this bent was to accept trifles from the Spaniards and liberally compensate them. Alonso de Ojeda, for instance, had a silk-embroidered satchel with many pockets, for which Montezuma gave him two pretty slaves, beside a number of robes and jewels. Ojeda wrote a memoir on the conquest, of which Herrera makes good use. dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. v.

[14] 'Fué muchas veces á holgar con cinco ó seis españoles á una y dos leguas fuera de la ciudad.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 92. Both the times and the number of the Spaniards are doubtful, however. 'Quando salia a caçar.... Lleuaua ocho o diez Españoles en guarda de la persona, y tres mil Mexicanos entre señores, caualleros, criados, y caçadores.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 124; *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 297.

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All being over, Cortés reëntered the apartments of Montezuma with his captains, and kneeling down he himself took off the fetters, declaring that he felt deeply grieved at the infliction, for he loved him as a brother. The monarch became almost hysteric with joy at this deliverance, and with falling tears he expressed himself in abject terms of gratitude, like the dog licking the hand which has chastised it. Every fresh incident reveals some new trait in the character of this unhappy man which calls for pity or contempt. "Yet further," continued Cortés, "to show my deep regard and confidence, you are now at full liberty to return to your own house." But Montezuma understood well enough that these were but words, an empty offer; indeed he had been informed by the well prompted page that, although the general might wish to release him, the Spanish captains would never permit it.[22] He accordingly expressed his thanks, and said that he preferred to remain with him, giving as a reason that, were he free, the importunities of his relatives and nobles to attack the Spaniards might prevail over his friendship for them and their king, and this would entail not only loss of life on both sides, but the ruin of the city. Thereupon Cortés embraced him with every appearance of deep devotion, and said, "Next to my king you shall be king; vast as are your possessions, I will make you ruler of more and greater provinces.[23]

We can imagine the words by which the Spaniards might justify to themselves the death of Quauhpo-

[22] 'Á lo que entendimos, ê lo mas cierto, Cortés auia dicho á Aguilar la lengua, que le dixesse de secreto, que aunque Malinche le mandasse salir de la prision, que los Capitanes nuestros, è soldados no querriamos.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 75.

[23] 'Fué tanto el buen tratamiento que yo le hice, y el contentamiento que de mí tenia, que algunas veces y muchas le acometi con su libertad, rogándole que fuese á su casa, y me dijo todas las veces que se lo decia, que él estaba bien allí,' etc. *Cortés, Cartas*, 91. 'No osaua, de miedo que los suyos no le matassen....por auer se dexado prender,' is one of the suppositions of Gomara, who calls him a man of little heart. *Hist. Mex.*, 129–30. Peter Martyr appears to be moved rather by pity for him. dec. v. cap. iii. 'Non gli conveniva ritornare al suo palagio, mentre fossero nella Corte gli Spagnuoli.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 102.

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Hist. Verdad., 81–2.

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The project appears to have found favor with Cortés, who besought Montezuma to form plantations for the king also in his adjoining province of Malinaltepec. This was at once attended to, and within two months four substantial houses and a vast reservoir had been constructed, and a large tract of land brought under cultivation, the improvements being valued at twenty thousand pesos de oro.[31]

Another important object was to find a better harbor than Villa Rica, and the emperor being consulted, he at once ordered a map to be made, which showed very accurately not only the rivers and inlets already known to the Spaniards, between Pánuco and Tabasco, but the yet unknown Rio Goazacoalco, beyond the Mexican border. This being said to have a large and deep entrance, Cortés availed himself of Ordaz' offer to examine it. Ten men, chiefly sailors and pilots, and some guides, accompanied him, and authority was given to take escorts from the frontier garrisons. He proceeded to Chalchiuhcuecan or San Juan de Ulua, and thence followed the coast examining the inlets.

On reaching the frontier complaints became numerous against the native garrisons by reason of raids and outrages, and supported by the chiefs who attended him he reprimanded the commanders, threatening them with the fate of Quauhpopoca unless they restrained the troops. They used to extend their raids into the Goazacoalco province, but were at present somewhat

moça, y Cervantes el chocarrero,' and says that Cortés, displeased at soldiers being left to raise fowl and cacao, sent Alonso Luis to recall them. *Hist. Verdad.*, 82; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. i. He is evidently mistaken, as shown by his own later text, for Cortés himself states that he sought to form plantations in that direction. The recall was made later and for a different reason.

[31] 'Estaban sembradas sesenta hanegas de maíz y diez de frijoles, y dos mil piés de cacap [cacao].... hicieron un estanque de agua, y en él pusieron quinientos patos.... y pusieron hasta mil y quinientas gallinas.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 94; *Peter Martyr*, dec. v. cap. iii. Oviedo writes that farms were established for the king in two or three provinces, one in Chimanta [Chimantla]. The two Spaniards left in the latter were saved, but elsewhere, subject to the Aztecs, they were killed during the uprising originated by Alvarado. iii. 376. Tapia refers to an expedition at this time against a revolted province, 80 leagues off. *Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 584.

to fill the vacant place of Escalante, as commander of the fortress, and as his lieutenant in the district. Grado was a man of agreeable presence and conversation, and with some fame among his comrades as a writer and musician, but more of a braggart than a soldier, with decided sympathies in favor of Velazquez. Indeed, Bernal Diaz charges him with having been the ringleader of the mutinous demonstration at Tlascala. Cortés was well acquainted with the character of the man; but his glib tongue had evidently overcome the prudence of the general, or else he preferred a less bold spirit than Escalante's at this post. "Now, Señor Grado," said he in handing him his commission, "here is the fulfilment of your long felt desire of going to Villa Rica. Take care of the fort, treat the Indians well, and do not undertake any expeditions like that of Escalante, or you may meet his fate." "In saying this," adds Bernal Diaz, "he gave us soldiers a wink, which we readily enjoyed, knowing well enough that Grado would not venture to do so, even under penalty of disgrace." The office of alguacil mayor, held by the former commander, was not included in the present commission, but was given to Sandoval, and when Grado remonstrated he was promised compensation in due time.

On reaching Villa Rica the evil nature of the man came to the front. He assumed pompous demeanor, and expected the settlers to serve him as a great lord, while the Totonacs were pressed for gold and female slaves. The fort and the duties connected with it were neglected, and the commander spent his time in gormandizing and gambling, not to mention the secret efforts to undermine his general's influence and to gain adherents for Velazquez. This soon reached the ears of Cortés, who felt not a little annoyed at having trusted such a fellow. He recognized the necessity of intrusting this district to one thoroughly devoted to himself, since a fleet from Cuba might at any moment arrive and create mischief. Therefore he sent Sandoval,

A hunting-trip to one across the lake was at on vessel had been provided w forts for the reception of a strong guard, while ot modated in the other craf announced their arrival, ar spire respect than even the vessels were accompanied holding forty or more court All were curious to see ho would behave, for their ir to render them slow and c blowing, however, and as t vessels bounded forward w moments left the occupant Montezuma was delighted, Hunting parties were like captive enjoyed the chas with great skill.[38]

[37] 'En la laguna á vn peñol, que est á montear, por muy principales que fue *Hist. Verdad.*, 78.

[38] *Native Races*, ii. 411. 'Quádo y ombros, con las guardas de Castellanos, pañauanle los señores sus vassallos.' *H*

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[4] See *Native Races*, v. 474.

[5] 'Mandó echar presos tres dellos.'

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come, "not with the hand on the heart, however, but on the sword."[9]

There was considerable meaning in this threat, for Cacama had with great energy set about to mass his forces at Oztoticpac, and they in conjunction with those of his allies would make a formidable host.[10] Cortés was aware of this, and seeing that no time was to be lost he firmly represented to Montezuma the necessity of securing the person of the king, openly or by stealth; and when he still hesitated, the significant hint was given that the Spaniards would regard a refusal with suspicion. This decided him, and he promised that it should be done, if possible. Cortés broke forth in expressions of good-will, and again offered him that freedom which Montezuma well knew he would never grant.

In placing Cacama on the throne, the emperor had seized the opportunity to introduce into the Acolhua government offices several creatures of his own, who were paid to maintain Aztec influence in the council[11] and to watch operations. To these men he sent an order, weighted with presents, to seize the king and bring him to Mexico.[12] They accordingly prevailed on their victim to hold a council at Tepetzinco for finally arranging the campaign. This palace was situated on the lake, near Tezcuco, and approached by canals. Here Cacama was seized and thrown into a boat prepared for the occasion, and carried to the Aztec capital.[13]

[9] 'Con hechizos le teniamos quitado su gran coraçon, y fuerça; ò que nuestros Dioses, y la gran muger de Castilla.... nos dá aquel gran poder.' In this last he did not err, remarks Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 80.

[10] Over 100,000 men. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 299.

[11] 'Tenia en su tierra del dicho Cacamazin muchas personas principales que vivian con él y les daba su salario.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 97.

[12] According to Bernal Diaz, six chiefs were sent with the imperial signet, which was to be given to certain relatives and dignitaries discontented with Cacama, and they were to seize him and his council. *Hist. Verdad.*, 80.

[13] 'Tambien truxeron otros cinco presos.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 80. 'Prendieron al Cacama vn dia, estando con ellos y otros muchos en consejo para cõsultar las cosas de la guerra.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 133. According to Ixtlilxochitl, when Cacama left Mexico, partly out of fear lest the Spaniards should seize him for promoting a revolt there, his brothers Cohuanacoch and Ixtlilxochitl, all now reconciled, pretended to fall into his views. Ixtlil-

He now resolved, with the approval of Cortés, to depose the Tezcucan ruler, as a rebel against his authority, and to place on the throne a more dutiful subject, a younger natural brother of Cacama, named Cuicuetzcatl,[16] whom his ill-treatment had driven to Mexico for protection. The nomination was for the sake of appearance submitted for ratification to a convention of loyal Tezcucan chiefs, many of whom hoped no doubt to obtain greater influence under this youth. The new king was escorted to the gates of Mexico by Cortés and Montezuma, and received at Tezcuco with triumphal arches and processions.[17]

And now, with the three confederate rulers and a number of leading caciques in his power, the great king-maker thought the time had come to exact a formal acknowledgment of Spanish sovereignty. He reminded Montezuma of his promises to pay tribute, and demanded that he and his vassals should tender allegiance. Instead of the objections expected, Cortés was surprised to hear a prompt acquiescence. Montezuma had evidently been long prepared for the demand, and said that he would at once convene his chiefs for consultation. Within little more than a week the summoned dignitaries had arrived, and at a meeting, attended by no Spaniards save the page, he intimated to the leading personages, so far as he dared before this witness, that the concession demanded of them was to satisfy the importunate jailers. "The gods, alas! are mute," concluded Montezuma; "but by and by they may signify their will more clearly,

[16] 'Se llamò Don Carlos.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 80; at a later period, most likely. 'Surnommé Tocpaxochitl.... bâtard de Nezahualpilli.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 258. Cortés calls him a son of Cacama, *Cartas*, 98, but this he afterward corrects. The native records, in *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, ii. 277, and in *Ixtlilxochitl*, ignore him. The latter, indeed, assumes that Cacama continued to reign, though captive like Montezuma. *Hist. Chich.*, 299 et seq.

[17] Herrera gives the speeches on the occasion. dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. iii. 'Era mas bien quisto, que no Cacama.... Y Cortes hazia reyes, y mandaua con tanta autoridad, como si ya vuiera ganado el imperio.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 133. Brasseur de Bourbourg assumes that Cohuanacoch and Ixtlilxochitl at once managed to obtain control of the weak youth and of the government.

fully grasp the situation at the capital, indignation struggled with grief at the dismal prospect. Others recalled the prophecy that the empire would terminate with Montezuma, whose very name appeared fraught with evil omen,[21] and were quite reconciled to the inevitable. So were most of them, for that matter, either through belief in the myth or from a sense of duty to their master. One of the eldest nobles broke the oppressive silence by declaring his sorrow at witnessing the grief of their beloved sovereign and hearing the announcement of coming changes. But since the time had come for the fulfilment of divine decrees, they, as devout and dutiful subjects, could only submit. Again their grief broke forth, though many a bitter glance was called up by the allusion to changes in store for them. Observing the bad impression, Cortés hastened to assure them that Montezuma would not only remain the great emperor he had always been, and his vassals be confirmed in their dignities and possessions, but that their domain and power would be increased. The changes proposed were merely intended to stop wars, to enlighten them on matters with which they were as yet unacquainted, and to promote general welfare. One after another, beginning with Montezuma, they now swore allegiance, and gave promise of service and tribute, after which they were dismissed with thanks for their compliance.[22]

[21] 'Tenia del oraculo de sus dioses respuesta muchas vezes....q̃ perderia la silla a los ocho años de su reynado, y q̃ por esto nunca quiso hazer guerra a los Españoles,....Bien que por otro cabo lo tenia por burla, pues auia mas dezisiete años q̃ era rey.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 134–5; *Acosta, Hist. Ind.*, 502–3.

[22] *Cortés, Cartas*, 91, 98–9; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ix. çap. iv.; *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 580–1. The allegiance was tendered before Secretary Pedro Fernandez. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 81. Solis assumes that Montezuma of his own accord offered allegiance and tribute, in the hope that this would fill the measure of the Spaniards' expectations and cause them to depart. In that case the general grief must have been well counterfeited. He regards this act as giving legality to the conquest. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 23–32. Prescott supposes that the submission was prompted less by fear than by conscience—conscientious obedience to the myth. *Mex.*, ii. 198. Oviedo looks on the tears as evidence of unwillingness, and thinks that either the emperor was very pusillanimous, or the will of God clearly manifest. iii. 297. Ac-

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ures kept in his own palace, regretting that he had not more to give; but previous offerings had diminished what he possessed. "When you transmit it to your king," he said, "tell him that it comes from his good

its glories as inherited by his ancestors, the kings of Tezcuco. The remaining 19 chapters relate to the conquest by the Spaniards, and are incomplete. It is the most carefully written of the series, elaborated partly from previous manuscripts, partly from fresh researches, while the account of the conquest rests also on the testimony of eye-witnesses, reinforced by additions from Gomara and other sources, as he admits on pp. 300, 303. An allusion to Torquemada shows that it could not have been completed before 1615, and it was probably his last work. More than one copy is extant, from one of which Ternaux-Compans printed a French translation, while the best issue, that of Kingsborough, is after a copy from Veytia. The material has been largely used, and Veytia's *Hist. Ant. Mej.* may be said to rest upon it. The more important of the other writings are, *Sumaria Relacion de todas las cosas en la Nueva-España, y que los tultecas alcanzaron*, in 5 relations, which treat of the mythical period from the creation of the world, according to native tradition, to the fall of the Toltecs; *Historia de los Señores Chichimecas*, in 12 relations, which brings the history down to the Spanish conquest; *Noticias de los pobladores y naciones de Nueva España*, in 13 relations; the first 12 quite short, and relating to native peoples; the last of considerable length, and dwelling on the conquest. Cárlos María de Bustamante published the 13th relation in separate form, to which, under an excess of patriotic zeal, he gave the abnormal title of *Horribles Crueldades de los Conquistadores*, Mexico, 1829. Notes were appended, and considerable liberties taken with text, so as to increase the odium against the conquerors. Ternaux-Compans included a French translation of it in his collection. Kingsborough has printed eleven shorter pieces by Ixtlilxochitl, and a few more are attributed to his pen, as a translation of Nezahualcoyotl's poems, a fragment of the same king's biography, and a history of the Virgin of Guadalupe; but the last two are doubtful. Several of the pieces are mere repetitions and summaries under different titles, connected with the author's pleadings, while the 13th relation may be termed a cleverly prepared biography of his great namesake, from the exaggerated prominence given to his services for the Spanish cause. Prescott's several blunders on this and other points are probably due as much to a want of access to sufficient material as to a hasty study.

Throughout these writings are evidences of the patriotic spirit which prompted Ixtlilxochitl in the study and translation of the painted records of his people; and every now and then gleams forth a very natural hatred of the Spanish oppressor, so marked indeed as once to call forth the condemnation of an official censor. Otherwise the narrative of events connected with the conquerors are closely masked; for the sake of private aims and the common fear of the white masters. As a consequence many troublesome facts are hidden and many questions smoothed to the detriment of history. The narratives are also extremely confusing in dates, and to a great extent in arrangement, while the interest is diminished by trivial details and improbable stories. But these were the faults of his time rather than of himself. He did wonderfully well in grappling with misty traditions, enveloped as they were in the intricate mazes of hieroglyphics. And he is justly entitled to our admiration, and to the gratitude of his countrymen, for rescuing from now unattainable sources so large a mass of material to illustrate the glories of his race. His style indicates a scholar from whom even his Spanish contemporaries might have taken lessons, for the language is exceedingly clear for this period, and full of graceful sentences and striking descriptions, rendering him not unworthy to be called the Livy and the Cicero of Anáhuac, as Prescott and Bustamante respectively entitle him.

vassal, Montezuma." He requested that certain fine chalchiuite stones, each valued at two loads of gold, and some finely chased and inlaid blow-pipes, should be given to the king alone.[25] This liberality evoked the most profound protestations of gratitude, as may be supposed, for they had not expected so great an addition to the glittering heaps already in their possession. Tapia and another officer were despatched in all haste with the imperial mayordomo to receive the treasure. It was stored in a hall and two smaller chambers of the aviary building,[26] and consisted of gold, silver, and precious stones, in setting and in separate form, with feathers, robes, and other articles, all of which were transferred to the Spanish quarters.[27]

These valuables, together with the collections from the provinces and the previously surrendered treasures of Axayacatl, were given to Cortés, who placed them in charge of the treasurer, Gonzalo Mejía, and the contador, Alonso de Ávila. The famed smiths of Azcapuzalco were called in to separate the gold and silver settings from the jewels of less delicacy and beauty, which it had been determined to melt. This took about three days. They were then melted into bars, three fingers in breadth, and stamped with the royal arms.[28] Iron weights were made of one arroba and downward, not very exact, it seems, yet suitable for the purpose, and with these the value of the melted gold was found to be somewhat over 162,000 pesos de oro, according to Cortés' statement; the silver

[25] Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 83, gives a description of these and other presents.

[26] 'Que se llamaba *Totocalco*.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 26.

[27] *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 581; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 135; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. iv. Bernal Diaz assumes that the Axayacatl treasures were those now given; but the testimony of the eye-witnesses, Tapia and Ojeda, confirmed and accepted by Gomara and Herrera, shows that they were given on a previous occasion already referred to. Still, Bernal Diaz does mention that after the melting of the rougher jewels new presents came from Montezuma. *Hist. Verdad.*, 82–3. He is very confusing, however, in his account of the treasures generally; and Clavigero, Prescott, and others, have allowed themselves to follow him too closely in this and other instances.

[28] 'Como de vn Real, y del tamaño de vn toston de a quatro.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 83.

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[30] For a description, s
Herrera, dec. ii. lib. ix.
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[31] Consisting of 32,400
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[33] Bernal Diaz appear
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[34] 'Soldados huuo q
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calculation accepted rep

Finding that the murmurs were becoming serious, Cortés brought his soothing eloquence to bear upon the troubled spirits. He represented that all his thoughts, efforts, and possessions were for the honor of his God, his king, and his companions. With them he had shared every danger and hardship, and for their welfare he had watched, rendering justice to all. The division had been fairly made in accordance with previous arrangement. But he was not avaricious; all he had was theirs, and he would employ it for them as might a father. He would surrender the fifth which had been assigned him, if they wished it, retaining only his share as captain-general; and he would also help any one in need. The treasure thus far secured was insignificant compared to what lay before them. What mattered a few hundred pesos more or less in view of the rich mines, the large tracts, and the immense number of towns, which were all theirs, so long as they held loyally together? "I will make a lord of every one of you," he concluded, "if you will but have peace and patience."[36] And to give greater effect to this harangue he bribed with gifts and promises the more influential to sound his praises; whereupon the murmurs died away, though rancor still remained with many, awaiting opportunity.[37]

to Cortés about missing gold, and thenceforth they were not very friendly. Noticing that Velazquez was in fetters, Montezuma asked the general for the cause, and was told that, not satisfied with his share of gold, he wished to make a tour of the towns to demand more, and perhaps to commit excesses. The emperor asked that he be allowed to go, and Cortés consented with apparent reluctance. A sentence seems to have been passed for the culprit to leave camp, and he proceeded with a Mexican official to Cholula, whence he returned with more gold a few days later. So runs the story of Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 84–5. B. V. de Tapia declares that Cortés kept him 'muchos dias en una casylla pequeña e con guardas.' *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 40–1.

[36] *Id.*, and *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. v.

[37] Among those who took most to heart the disappointing distribution was Juan de Cárdenas, a pilot and sailor of Triana, who had a wife and children in Spain. Tired of struggling with poverty at home he had come to seek a better lot with the conquerors in America. The first sight of the treasures to be divided had inspired him with an ardent hope of being able to return to his family, for an equal division would have given him quite a little fortune. Finding his dream of happiness shattered he became almost raving. Cortés gave him 300 pesos, and promised that he should be sent home by the first opportunity. Cárdenas appeared to be satisfied, but on reaching Spain he

A large proportion of the soldiers imitated the example of the heavy sharers in the spoils by converting their allotment, with the aid of Azcapuzalcan goldsmiths, into chains, crosses, and other adornments for their persons, so that the display of wealth became quite dazzling. Others yielded to the infatuation for gambling, then so prevalent, and lost without a murmur the hard-earned share.[38]

But one thing now remained to complete the triumph of the conqueror. The manacled kings were subservient, and the people displayed their loyalty by pouring tribute into his coffers. But his god was not theirs, and this the pious pilferer could not endure. He and his priests had lost no opportunity to preach the faith to emperor and subjects;[39] but the hearts of the natives were obdurately fixed on the idols of the pyramid. He never beheld the temple without being tempted to lay low the effigies of Satan, and it was owing only to Father Olmedo's prudent counsel that the temptation was resisted. Repeatedly had he urged on the weak emperor to begin the great work by some radical reform, but could obtain only the promise that human sacrifices would be stopped. Finding that even this was not observed, he consulted with his captains, and it was agreed to demand the surrender of the great temple for Christian worship, so that the natives might be made to feel the holy influence of its symbols and rites. Montezuma was prepared with excuses, but the deputation declared with fierce vehemence that

came forward as a bitter opponent of the general. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 84. Solis speaks up in behalf of his hero, and condemns the men as avaricious and ungrateful for demanding more than their share. The leaders and best men deserved larger gains. As for Bernal Diaz, 'Habla mas como pobre sol dado, que como historiador.' *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 35. The share for Villa Rica was sent to Tlascala, says Bernal Diaz, whither rumor had it that large sums were forwarded for Cortés and others, who claimed afterward that they had been lost during the uprising. 'Las piedras bajas y plumages, todo lo tomaron los Indios de Tlaxcala.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 26.

[38] The cards, made by Pedro Valenciano from drumskins, were as neatly painted as those of Spain. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 84.

[39] Herrera gives lengthy specimens of the warrior preacher's effusions, occupying more than one chapter. dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. vi.–vii.

if this were refused they would forcibly remove the idols and kill the priests who resisted. "Malinche," exclaimed the monarch in alarm, "do you then seek the destruction of the city? Our gods are incensed against us, and the people imbittered. Even your lives will not be safe. Wait, I entreat you, till I call the priests for consultation."[40]

Cortés saw that nothing more could then be attained, but with the indiscreet zeal for religion which often blinded him he determined that there should be no further delay. He apprehended no uprising among a people which had so patiently submitted to all exactions, yet he feared that the priests, if warned, might prevent an entry into the temple, and so he resolved to anticipate them, and to demonstrate the impotency of their gods. Giving orders for a strong force to follow after a short interval, he went forward with hardly a dozen men in order not to arouse suspicion.[41] Entering the sanctuary, and finding that he could not draw aside the costly curtain with its golden pellet fringe which shielded the bejewelled idols from profane gaze, he had it cut asunder. The reason for the obstruction now became apparent. The idol showed traces of fresh human blood. At this evidence of broken promises and disregarded orders Cortés began to rave. "Oh God!" he cried, "why dost thou permit the devil to be thus honored in this land? Let it appear good that we serve thee."

Turning to the temple attendants, who had followed with apprehensive mien, he upbraided them for their blind adherence to a bloody worship, and compared the evil of idolatry with the saving rites of Christianity. He was determined, he said, to remove the idols and install an image of the virgin. They

[40] According to Bernal Diaz Cortés made a sign that he and Olmedo desired to speak privately to Montezuma. He now proposed that in order to prevent tumult his captains might be persuaded to rest content with a space in the great temple for an altar and cross. *Hist. Verdad.*, 85.

[41] Tapia leaves the impression that he called casually at the temple, and afterward sent for more troops.

must take away all within the sanctuary and cleanse it. The priests shook their heads at such an insane idea. All the city and country around adored these gods, and they would die rather than see them desecrated. They further intimated that the deities would themselves know how to chastise the sacrilegious. This reply only fired the fury of Cortés, and unable further to restrain himself, he seized a bar, dashed at the idol, and striking it a blow which caused the golden mask to fall off, he exclaimed, "Shall we not do something for God?" Captain Andrés de Tapia, one of the dozen Spaniards present on the occasion, testifies to the rash proceeding: "I swear by my faith as a gentleman and by God that it is true. It seems as if I now see the marquis springing with excitement and striking at the idol."[42]

When the real intentions of Cortés had first become apparent to the priests, they sent to warn Montezuma, as emperor and high-priest, that some outrage might be perpetrated. Suspecting that the recent threat was about to be carried out, he despatched a messenger to the general asking permission to come to the temple, and imploring him meanwhile to respect the idols. The message arrived before much damage was done, and with the advice of his followers Cortés was induced to yield. He recognized that the attitude assumed might lead to more serious results than had been at first supposed. The rumor had spread of extraordinary proceedings on the temple summit, and armed and threatening crowds were gathering at the foot, impeded only by the Spanish reserve escort[43] from ascending to defend their gods. Why should not they fight for their religion as well as others? Seeing that the emperor's presence was necessary to calm them, Cortés permitted him to come. He soon arrived, under a strong guard, and pointing to the excited masses he reasoned with Cortés upon

[42] In *Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta*, *Col. Doc.*, ii. 585.
[43] Of 30 or 40 men, says Tapia.

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place for the frequent services which were henceforth held here.[46]

Taking advantage of the step thus gained, the priests and their followers sought to impress upon the natives the superiority of their faith,[47] and numbers were convinced, says Tapia, although few accepted baptism out of fear of their countrymen.[48] There was a drought prevailing at the time, and the priests, having in vain appealed for a remedy, ascribed the evil to the anger of the gods at the presence of the worshippers of strange deities and their hateful symbols. A few days after the consecration of the altars a deputation of natives appeared at the Spanish quarters, bearing withered corn-stalks, and demanding that, since the Europeans had removed the idols to whom they prayed for rain, they should ask their god for it, so that the people might not die of hunger. Cortés reassured them,[49] and ordered a general prayer for relief. "The following day," says Tapia, "we marched in procession to the temple, under a blazing sun." While mass was being said a cloud might be seen gathering on Mount Tepcaquilla, and "on our way back the rain fell so heavily that we had to wade in water up to our ankles." The rain continued for several days, and the harvest turned out abundant.[50] Each party claimed the meteorological display as a direct answer to its prayer, for the Mexicans were hardly

[46] Montezuma received the returning procession with a forced welcome, and gave orders to destroy a series of brothels in Tlatelulco, containing over 400 women, whose iniquity, he said, had brought the present evil upon the city. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. vi.

[47] Herrera devotes five columns to Cortés' sermon. dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. vii.; *Torquemada*, i. 465–7.

[48] Or perhaps of the teachers of the faith, who appeared with sword in hand to enforce their cruel, rapacious, and immoral demands. Herrera believes Montezuma would have become a Christian had he dared. dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. ix. But Duran states that according to the native records all the three captive rulers were baptized, and that Father Olmedo had told him he believed such was the case, although the rite had not been administered by himself. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 445. This question will be discussed in a later chapter.

[49] 'Sed ciertos, que de aqui a mañana llouera, y tendreys el mejor año que jamas aueys tenido.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. vi.

[50] *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 586; *Hazart, Kirchen Geschichte*, ii. 520; *Torquemada*, i. 464.

prepared to yield everything without a struggle. To this insignificant and hated band of intruders they had practically abandoned their country, by acknowledging serfdom with tribute. Daily they submitted to wrongs and indignities. The sacred person of their king had been profaned, their nobles brought to the dust. Now should they submit to this destruction of their gods? If so, the heavens and earth would come together, grinding them to powder!

CHAPTER XX.

THE CUBAN GOVERNOR IN PURSUIT.

1519-1520.

THE MEXICANS THREATEN REVOLT—THE CLERGY IN ARMS—THEY DENOUNCE THE CONDUCT OF MONTEZUMA—THE EMPEROR DECLARES HE CAN NO LONGER RESTRAIN HIS PEOPLE—TIDINGS OF VELAZQUEZ' FLEET—SAILING FROM CUBA OF AN EXPEDITION UNDER NARVAEZ—ARRIVAL IN MEXICO—CONFLICT WITH CORTÉS—INTERCHANGE OF THREATS AND COURTESIES—ATTEMPTED UNION OF FORCES—NARVAEZ REMAINS LOYAL TO VELAZQUEZ—DESERTION OF SOME OF HIS MEN TO CORTÉS.

WAR now seemed inevitable; for if earthly powers availed not against the invaders, heaven's artillery should disperse the impious foe. If feeble man by fearful combinations be brought low, surely the gods may yet defend themselves from insult.

Hitherto it had been the higher nobles only who harbored designs against the Spaniards, but, while no longer cemented by the accustomed despotism, they were held in check by their jealousies, their party politics, and fear for their possessions. A stronger influence than these was at hand, however. Now for the first time the lesser nobles and the common people were aroused. The outrage on the idols affected all. And the clergy, who out of regard for their high-priest, the emperor, had remained passive, now felt themselves struck in a vital part. Their influence, supremacy, and means of support were all involved, and the power of the priesthood was as great here as among other superstitious peoples. How far they worked upon the nobles and plebeians is not clear, but their interviews with Montezuma, although held

only to give the signal; nay, did he delay to do so, they would rise. But he loved Malinche; had he not proved this by his devotion? He wished to save the Spaniards; and now he warned, he implored them to leave the city before it would be too late. They might take all his treasures; nay, he would give each man a load of gold if they would only go.[3]

The tone and manner of the prince convinced them that his words were sincere. Cortés deemed it best to feign compliance. He thanked the emperor for the interest manifested in their safety, and replied that since he and his gods and people so desired it, they would comply; but having no vessels, time must be allowed to build them.[4] This was perplexing, but Montezuma overlooked everything on hearing that the Spaniards were ready to leave. He insisted no further, knowing well enough that he and the other captives would have to follow if a withdrawal from the city was required before the means of transport had been found.[5] He had seen that it did not take long to construct ships, and offered the necessary carpenters to fell and prepare timber, as before. Meanwhile he would endeavor to appease his vassals, pointing out that an uprising would be disastrous also to himself and them. Martin Lopez was at once sent down to Villa Rica with Andrés Nuñez,

[3] 'Yo os daré para vos dos cargas de oro, é una para cada chripstiano.' *Oviedo*, iii. 507; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 138. Herrera increases this to four loads for Cortés and two loads for each horseman. dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. vi. And Duran heard that a ship-load of treasures was offered; but the pious Cortés was too intent on converting souls to accept the bribe. *Pizarro y Orellana, Varones Ilustres*, 91; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 86. Montezuma had become attached to many of the Spaniards, including the courteous general, and really wished them well.

[4] 'Dixo a vn Español de los doze, q̃ fuesse a auisar a los compañeros q̃ se aparejassen por quanto se trataua cõ el de sus vidas.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 137–8. This author and others state that Cortés gives thanks for the warning, and offers to go whenever he is bidden. Montezuma, equally polite, tells him to select his own time. When ready to leave he will give a load of gold to each man, and two for himself. Cortés thereupon brings up the question of vessels.

[5] 'Cortes le dixo....q̃ por fuerça auia de ir el Mõtecuma con nosotros, para que le vea nuestro gran Emperador.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 86. It is not probable that this was said on the present occasion, however, and it would only have irritated the emperor.

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in slaves and gold. Deeply as l
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avengers. With the aid of F
Benito Martin, whom Velazque
on his behalf, had obtained for
sion,[9] with the title of adelantad
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October, 1519, saw busy prepar
for an expedition as well again
zuma.[10]

There was no trouble in obtaini
created by the visit of Puerto

became so used to sleeping in his clothes, and
that he almost discarded the bed during his
could take only short naps. 'Esto he dicho, po
los verdaderos Conquistadores, y como estav
armas, y a velar.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 86.

[9] This was dated Saragossa, November 13, l
usurpation of the fleet, as Las Casas observes,
position of adelantado not only over Yucatan,
discovered by his expeditions, but over any fur
In connection with this title was granted, to h
of the revenue accruing to the king from the
quest and settlement one twentieth of the same
self and heirs, from any one island that he migl
supposed to be all islands. All supplies of food,
by him during his life, were to be free of duty.
royal plantation near Habana was transferred
conferred of 300,000 maravedis. A number of
the promotion of economic, politic, and spiritu
A synopsis of the commission is given in *Las Cas*
misunderstands the *Carta de Velazquez* of Octob
the governor had not received notice of his app
therefore wrong in taking Gomara to task for say
pensamiẽto [to thwart Cortés], auino que llego
perador, y el titulo de Adelantado, y cedula de l
Hist. Mex., 140.

[10] *Carta de Velazquez*, October 12, 1519, in *Pa*
xii. 246–51. Solis assumes that the preparation
by the news of the reception accorded in Spain
Hist. Mex., ii. 42-4. But this supposition, l
pression of Herrera, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. xviii
dores reached Spain only in October, and were
they saw the emperor.

left the impression that ship-loads of gold had been forwarded from the new region to Spain, and the island was consequently in a ferment with excitement. So great indeed became the desire to enlist that Velazquez would in any case have been obliged to form an expedition to prevent the people from going on their own account to reinforce Cortés.[11] At first it was announced that the governor would go in person, and so prevent further rebellion. But Velazquez never thought of such a thing: he was too corpulent, he lacked courage, and he could not abandon his interests and his post in Cuba, leaving the island scantily provided with defenders. Further than this, he had confidence in the legal right conferred on him over the new country and over any expedition he might send. His announced reasons were the duties of his office, which demanded his presence more than ever owing to the prevalent small-pox epidemic.[12]

Among the many candidates eager for the command were Baltasar Bermudez, a relative, Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa, and Pánfilo de Narvaez, the first two mentioned already in connection with Cortés' appointment. With Bermudez the governor could come to no arrangement, and with Porcallo he managed to quarrel after selecting him,[13] so that he was left with no other choice than Narvaez. This was the hidalgo of Valladolid,[14] whom we have met before, who had joined Velazquez shortly after his arrival in Cuba, and had taken a leading part in its conquest. This over, he had married a rich widow, María de Valenzuela, possessing a number of towns, and had accepted civil positions, such as procurador for the island, and contador in the newly discovered region. Narvaez

[11] 'Conociendo que la gẽte, de vna manera o de otra, se auia de yr, acordò de recogerla.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. xviii.

[12] *Letter to Figueroa*, Nov. 17, 1519, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 400.

[13] It appears that Velazquez' suspicious nature had led him to cast reflections upon Porcallo, who resented them by throwing up the appointment. Herrera tells the story, which is not very interesting. dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. xviii.

[14] Bernal Diaz says also 'Ualladolid, ó de Tudela de Duero.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 246, 38.

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[15] 'A este Narvaez hi
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Las Casas, Hist. Ind., iv.
Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verda

[16] In a letter to Judge
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[18] This official, Juan C
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Carrillo presented letters
Real Audiencia de la Espo

in sending procuradores to Spain, with presents and messages to the king, had its effect on the audiencia, which considered not only that his case had passed beyond them, but that he was rendering, and likely to render, greater service to the royal interest than was his rival. By no means predisposed in favor of Velazquez, they moreover sent to Cuba the prudent licentiate Lucas Vazquez de Aillon, a member of their body, with instructions to prevent the threatened danger.

Accompanied by Pedro de Ledesma, secretary to the audiencia, and the alguacil mayor, Aillon met Narvaez at Yagua,[19] preparing with a portion of the fleet to join the rest at Guaniguanico. Placing the captain under injunction not to leave Cuba, he proceeded to the rendezvous and represented to Velazquez the evil which must result from his project, urging that his duty as governor and loyal subject demanded him to forego personal vengeance and interest, and finally forbidding the expedition without express permission from the king. The governor, who appears to have obtained more definite news from Spain regarding the wealth and promises of New Spain, was more determined than ever to carry out his scheme. Relying upon the grant of the country to himself, he considered that he had every right to claim his own and to treat Cortés as an interloper. At first he refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the audiencia in the matter, but pretended finally to fall in with Aillon's views.

It was accordingly agreed that, in order to promote the interests both of king and governor, by rendering available the costly preparations made, the fleet should proceed to its destination, but without Indians, and with a less number of settlers than had volunteered. Narvaez might present the claims of his principal upon Cortés, but only in a peaceable manner, without landing any forces. If they were

[19] Fourteen leagues west of Trinidad.

not entertained, he must sail onward in quest of new discoveries.[20]

In the presence of Aillon instructions were given to Narvaez in accordance with the agreement, but the former nevertheless resolved to accompany the expedition and watch over their observance, for he suspected the sincerity of both parties.[21]

The expedition was the largest which had as yet been fitted out in the New World, and consisted of eleven large and seven small vessels, with somewhat over nine hundred soldiers, including eighty men with fire-arms, one hundred and twenty with cross-bows, and eighty horsemen. There were also several hundred Indians, a large force of sailors, and a park of artillery, together with ample stores of all kinds.[22]

[20] 'Todo lo qual se asentó desta manera, y lo dió por instruccion en mi presencia al dicho Pánfilo de Narvaez.' *Ayllon*, in *Carta de Audiencia*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xiii. 337. For fuller text of this agreement see *Ayllon*, *Parecer*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 476–9. By the time the discovery voyage was concluded the king would have decided the case.

[21] This creeps out in his report, to which he adds: 'Parecióme que, pues yo principalmente habia ido á estorbar que no oviesen debates y escándalos, que debia seguir mi camino hasta los dexar pacíficos.' *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xiii. 337. The account of his efforts in Cuba is also given in a special letter to the king, written by him at Guaniguanico March 4th, on the eve of departure for New Spain. This letter was detained in Cuba till August. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xi. 439–42; *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 481–6. Herrera, who is not aware of the agreement with Aillon, assumes that Velazquez and Narvaez answer his protests by mere assurances that they intend no harm, but will take care of the king's interest, Narvaez ending the discussion by saying: 'de qualquiera manera se pensaua embarcar dentro de dos horas.' dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. xviii. Bernal Diaz also states that Velazquez relied so much on the favor of the bishop that he totally ignored the protests of Aillon. 'Soldados dixeron, que venia con intencion de ayudarnos, y si no lo pudiesse hazer, tomar la tierra en si por su Magestad, como Oidor.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 87. Solis supposes that Aillon hoped to prevail on Narvaez when once out of Velazquez' reach. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 47; *Cortés*, *Cartas*, 117; *Gomara*, *Hist. Mex.*, 140. The governor evidently feared to oppose Aillon's distasteful resolution to embark, lest he should induce the audiencia to adopt a more forcible interference; and perhaps he thought that his protests could be more safely disregarded the farther he was removed from the centre of government.

[22] At the review in Cempoala, New Spain, were found 80 musketeers, 120 archers, 600 infantry, and 80 horsemen. *Gomara*, *Hist. Mex.*, 146. Cortés was told by Guevara that there were 800 infantry, including 80 archers and 120 musketeers. *Cartas*, 116. Oviedo has only 800 men, but with 200 horses, iii. 508, while Bernal Diaz raises the totals to 19 vessels, with 1300 to 1400 soldiers, including 80 horsemen, 90 archers, and 70 musketeers, but not counting the sailors. The artillery of guns was in charge of Captain Rodrigo Martin. *Hist. Verdad.*, 86–7. Clavigero adopts 18 vessels, 800 infantry, 85 cavalry, over 500 sailors, and 12 guns. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 113. Aillon vaguely mentions 'over 600 Spaniards in sixteen vessels.' 'Sin que yo lo supiese,

allegiance to Narvaez, poured into the ears wondering countrymen the story of their brilliant achievements. They told of the vas and resources of the country, of the wealth lated, the unfairness of Cortés in dividing, consequent discontent of the soldiers and th of their position.[27] This tended to render the c Narvaez over-confident, so that his rival wa benefited than injured by the story of the d He now told Aillon that he would land, sinc was so far in the interior and the vessels i condition. He was also determined to form ment, and regardless of the oidor's protest was founded for a second time upon the sit present Vera Cruz.[28] The governor of Cuet hastened to send presents of supplies, as ar courtesy to a captain whom he supposed to friend of Cortés. He was undeceived, howe told by the deserters that Narvaez was the re and captain sent by the king, while Cortés men were fugitive adventurers whom Narva punish. His king had heard of the outrag emperor, and had sent him to procure his re restore order, and thereupon to return. The g reported this to Montezuma, who, thinking r

Verdad., 87; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. xviii. Porras gives seve ferent names. *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 500. Cortés appears to say th the men sent by him to bring news of Narvaez and who deserted. Aillon speaks of one man who came on board of his vessel. F Cortés had instructed the Indians to regard any foreign arrivals this man was sent to reassure them. *Carta de Audiencia*, in *Pacheco nas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 339. It appears probable, however, that Cortés' of messengers from his king was known to the Indians.

[27] 'Alçauan las manos a Dios, que los librò del poder de Corte de....Mexico, donde cada dia esperauan la muerte....y aũ dezia el ....O Narvaez, Narvaez, que bien aventurado que eres....que tiene de Cortes allegados mas de seteciẽtos mil pesos de oro, y todos l estan mui mal con el.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 87.

[28] This was speedily abandoned for a camp at Cempoala. Ail merely a camp to be formed near a well supplied town. The munic were: 'Alcaldes hordinarios á Francisco Verdugo, cuñado del d Velazquez, casado con una hermana suya, é un Juan Yuste, su cuña domo, é regidores á Diego Velazquez é Pero Velazquez, sus sobrin zalo Martin de Salvatierra é Juan de Gamarra.' *Carta de Audiencia* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 342.

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Guevara's character as a clergyman he would have him chastised for his impudence. As it was, he referred him to Cortés as captain-general and justicia mayor of New Spain. Guevara likewise grew warm,[34] and a war of words followed, which the commander cut short by ordering some Indians to bundle the three principals into net hammocks. In these they were carried to Mexico, under a Spanish guard, to be delivered to the general.[35]

When Montezuma first received news from the coast governor of the arrival of the great fleet, he supposed that these were the vessels which Cortés had said that he expected, and by which it was hoped he would depart. Montezuma at once sent for Cortés to impart the tidings.[36] The Spanish general was not a little surprised at this second unusual summons, and still more when told that his vessels had arrived, and that new ones need not be built. While he was yet puzzling over the words, the emperor produced the painted message showing a fleet at anchor off Chalchiuhcuecan. "You can now leave in safety, and all will be well," continued the monarch, overjoyed at the thought of release.[37] "Thanks be to God, who pro-

[34] He ordered Vergara to read the provisions. Sandoval declared that none but a royal notary should do so, and threatened him with 100 lashes unless he desisted. Guevara interfered, and was told that he lied, and was a low clergyman. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 88.

[35] Alguacil Pedro de Solis was in charge. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 88, describes how they wondered at the succession of great cities, etc. The guard consisted of twenty men. *Cortés, Cartas*, 115.

[36] Gomara describes somewhat minutely the apprehension created among the soldiers by this summons, in face of the threatening aspect of affairs. *Hist. Mex.*, 138–9. Bernal Diaz states that Montezuma kept the news back for three days, while he communicated with Narvaez. He might have delayed longer, but feared that Cortés would suspect something. *Hist. Verdad.*, 87.

[37] While still talking, they received another message, saying that troops, horses, and guns had been landed. In his joy Montezuma embraced Cortés, exclaiming that he loved him more than ever, and saying that he would dine with him. While at table both were in good humor, the emperor thinking of the departure, the general of renewed conquests. After this Montezuma gave daily feasts, in the belief that the task of entertaining would soon be over. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 139. It is more likely that apprehensions prevailed on both sides. Brasseur de Bourbourg calls attention to the fact that no stranger had till then been so far honored as to sit at the same table with the monarch. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 277.

vides all things!" was the fervent utterance of the general, while the soldiers sent up shouts of joy mingled with discharges of fire-arms. "Surely," they said, "Puertocarrero and Montejo have returned in good time." Further consideration of the matter, however, convinced Cortés that these were not the ships of his friends, but that they belonged to his archenemy of Cuba. His captains thought the same, and talked with calculated effect to the men of the great wrong to them if the hirelings of Velazquez were to step in and reap the results of their hardships.

Anxious to learn something definite, Cortés sent two messengers by different routes to bring news about the expedition, a third being instructed to follow Velazquez de Leon with instructions to await orders before proceeding to Goazacoalco; a fourth messenger was despatched to Villa Rica.[38] Learning meanwhile from Sandoval that the expedition was inimical to him, Cortés sent letters from himself and his regidores to the commander, stating the progress of conquest on behalf of the Spanish king, and demanding his object. If he needed no succor, and came not provided with royal authority, he must at once depart; otherwise Cortés would march against him, supported by the vast forces of the empire.[39] The letters were

[38] Monjaras gives their names. 'Fuesen. . . tizmados como los yndios,' et seq. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 442–3; ii. 47–49, 134–5. Andrés de Tapia, who had just returned from Cholula, after settling a boundary dispute with Tlascala, was the fourth messenger. He followed by-paths, walking by day and being carried by Indians at night, so that he reached his destination in three days and a half. Finding that Sandoval had already sent messages, he remained with him. *Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 586–7. Cortés writes that after being informed by Montezuma he received a letter, by a Cuban Indian, from a Spaniard who had been stationed on the coast to watch for vessels. This announced that a vessel had anchored at San Juan de Ulua, which was supposed to be that of the returning procuradores. The general now despatched his four messengers. Fifteen days passed without further news—this is probably a misprint—after which native paintings were received showing the number of men landed, and with them the report that the messengers from Mexico were detained by the new arrivals. *Cartas*, 114–15. A man named Pinedo, who fled from the capital, was overtaken by Aztecs, at Cortés' order; and brought back dead. *Demanda de Cebollos*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 440.

[39] Cortés intimates that a friar carried this message, and that one of the questions was the nationality of the expedition. *Cartas*, 115. The friar appears to have carried a later message. Gomara assumes that Cortés already knew who the commander was, and offered his friendship. *Hist. Mex.*, 142.

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ii. lib. ix. cap. xxi.

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CHAPTER XXI.

THE COUP DE MAÎTRE OF CORTÉS.

MAY, 1520.

DISMAL PROSPECTS—EMPIRE TO HOLD, INVASION TO REPEL—THE ARMY DIVIDES—ALVARADO GUARDS MONTEZUMA, WHILE CORTÉS LOOKS AFTER NARVAEZ—THE MARCH SEAWARD—THE RENDEZVOUS—THE CHINANTECS AND THEIR PIKES—CORTÉS SOWS ALLURING WORDS IN THE CAMP OF THE ENEMY—PROPOSALS OF PEACE—DEFIANCE—NIGHT ATTACK—CORTÉS CAPTURES NARVAEZ AND HIS ARMY.

IT now behooved Cortés to look well to himself. He might win a score of Marathons, but one Paros would ruin all. When embarking in this enterprise, he was to all appearance little above the common adventurer. But rare talents were constantly appearing as required by occasion. Though sometimes carried away by excess of zeal, he had proved himself an adept in diplomacy. And for one hitherto so sportive and pleasure-loving, his temper was now grave, particularly in times of peril, when his calm self-mastery increased with increasing danger. The rhythm of battle was the sweetest harmony that could stir his soul, and yet he never fought but for a purpose. On gaining an advantage he indulged in no holiday of retrospect or repose; so long as anything remained to be done no time was wasted in self-gratulations. He never turned from danger, but hastened to seek it out, perceiving it even in the darkness, intuitively, and always looking it full in the face. It was while preparing to strike that the enemy received the staggering blow, and the advantage thus gained was followed up to yet greater advantage

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Narvaez might leave him in comparative peace.[1] Who shall say that his good fortune may not still favor him! And thereupon he resolved to move his camp nearer to the enemy, so as to be ready for any emergency, and further, to give himself a more imposing appearance by the addition of native auxiliaries. Another reason for this advance was by his presence to counteract the defection of Indian allies, arising from the parade of a superior force by Narvaez, and from the stamping of Cortés as an impostor.

He laid the project before his council, showing the danger of awaiting the advance of Narvaez, whose ill-will had already caused their property to be declared confiscated and their names branded with dishonor. Deserters to Sandoval had brought news of serious discontent in the enemy's camp. Hundreds, they said, would be ready to come over or to remain neutral if Cortés showed a bold front. Indeed, the protests of Aillon against a fratricidal war had been echoed by most of them, intent as they were on obtaining gold, not on slaughtering countrymen. It was in any case better to advance and secure a good position, perhaps to surprise the careless Narvaez. With God and the king on their side, so they claimed, they could not fail to conquer. Some objections were ventured upon, but promptly suppressed by one of the captains, who reminded his comrades of their glorious achievements under Cortés, and their probable fate should Narvaez gain the ascendancy. The result was an unanimous approval of the plan proposed; and Cortés thereupon commissioned the captains to represent the matter to the men, and to ascertain who were willing to follow, and who should remain in Mexico.[2]

[1] 'Velazquez.... si yua en persona no podia escusar de respetarle, aunque por su buena, y blāda condicion, confiaua que le traeria a qualquier buen partido; pero temia que yendo otro qualquier General.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. xix.

[2] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 144; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. xxi.; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 90. 'Afirman muchos, que en essa saçon estaba tan bien quisto Cortés, que si á todos los quisiera llevar, todos se fueran trás él.' *Oviedo*, iii. 509. Which is exaggerated, as we have seen.

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Relaciones, 389, 412

It was decided that all who were not wholly in sympathy with Cortés, should remain with the garrison left in charge of Mexico, since self-preservation would constrain them to act in the direction of his interest. This force numbered one hundred and forty men, and with the loyal Alvarado for captain, Mexico was regarded as secured. The defences of the Spanish quarters were strengthened; all the guns and most of the fire-locks, cross-bows, and ammunition were left with the garrison, also seven horses. Supplies being not over abundant, owing to the drought, maize and other provisions were brought from Tlascala to serve in case of need. The men were promised wealth and honors if they remained faithful, and their somewhat hot-headed commander was exhorted to prudence. "You are few in number," said Cortés to them on leaving, "and yet you are strong; finally, have a care of your prisoner."[5]

About the middle of May Cortés set out from Mexico with seventy Spaniards, sworn to implicit obedience.[6] There were also native carriers, a number of prominent Mexicans as hostages, and guides who were to take them by a short southern route through

does Zamacois, who sees a proof thereof in the offer of troops. He could not communicate with Narvaez for want of interpreters, and had he wished to aid the latter he would have attacked the Spanish quarters. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 70–1. All of which shows that this author is not profound either in investigation or argument.

[5] Bernal Diaz places the force at 83 men, with 10 cross-bows, 14 firelocks, 4 large guns, falconets, 7 horses, and all the ammunition; 150 men were left, and 150 taken, *Oviedo;* a little over 50 were left, *Tapia;* all wished to go, but 200 were left and 250 taken, including the men of Velazquez, with 8 to 9 horses, and a force of carriers, *Gomara;* 150 left, 250 taken, with a number of Indians, *Ixtlilxochitl;* 150 left, *Probanza de Lejalde.* B. V. de Tapia, who remained with Alvarado, says 130; *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 36. Cortés' own account distributes the total of his force as follows: 140 left at Mexico, 150 absent under Velazquez, 70 taken by himself, 150 at Villa Rica; but this is more than the original number given on setting out for the plateau. The Villa Rica force may, however, have been reduced by later drafts, for other authorities allow only about 70 men for this fortress. In the Ramusio edition of the *Cartas* 140 men are given as the garrison left under Alvarado, while 60 are taken by Cortés, *Viaggi*, iii. 244, but later issues place the former figure at 500, which is evidently a misprint. However much the figures of different writers may vary, it seems to be admitted that war and disease had made a considerable inroad upon them.

[6] 'Fizo capitan dellos a Alonzo Davila.' Monjaras and Aguilar, in *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 48, 184.

Aztec territory to the coast. Montezuma accompanied him to the Iztapalapan causeway, and there took his leave with friendly demonstration, while a number of chieftains continued with him for some distance on the way to the Huitzilapan plateau. He had no intention of encumbering himself with heavy war material, for the little he possessed could not avail against the superior armament of the enemy. His must be a light corps, capable of quick movements; stratagem should supply the place of numbers. And now what hopes and fears were theirs as they marched on toward the sea! Surely so brave a little army was never more beset by pitfalls and snares.

On reaching Cholula they were joined by Velazquez and Rangel, with one hundred and fifty men, who were now the mainstay of the expedition. About a score of these, suspected of favoring too strongly the Cuban governor, were sent back to Mexico, so that the enterprise might not be imperilled by treason. Among the remainder were distributed the gold collected by the expedition in the Tochtepec and adjoining region, in order to encourage loyalty.[7]

Unable himself to visit Tlascala, Cortés sent Francisco Rodriguez, with instructions to raise a force of her stanch warriors. He succeeded in enlisting several thousand; but as it became evident whom they were to meet, the natives recalled only too vividly the terrible effect of Spanish arms and prowess, and began rapidly to desert, so that only a few presented themselves before Cortés, and they were dismissed with presents.[8]

[7] 'Que seria fasta catorze mill castellanos.' *Monjaras*, in *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 49. 'Cinco o seys mill.' *Tirado*, in *Id.*, 7.

[8] 'Porq̃ le pareciò q̃ auia conseguido su intento.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. i. Perhaps in spreading the rumor that he came with Indian auxiliaries. Among the auxiliaries were 400 men from Huexotzinco, under Pedro Gonzalez de Trujillo. *Tirado*, and others, in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 247 et seq.; ii. 7 et seq. It is this expedition of Rodriguez, assisted by Diego García, Alonso de Ojeda, and Juan Marquez, as captains, that has misled Gomara, and particularly Herrera, in supposing that the whole expedition received a grand reception at Tlascala; but, beside the above reference, Cortés intimates clearly enough that he did not go that way, and he certainly did take a more southerly

During the march to the coast scouts were sent out by the main road and through by-paths to gather information of the enemy. Not far from Cholula Olmedo rejoined the army, with a letter from Narvaez demanding submission. Of this no notice was taken, for although the latter had endeavored to intimidate the envoy by holding a review of his troops, the brave friar had sounded the disposition of the men too truly to be alarmed. He seemed rather disposed to underrate the strength of Narvaez, and with a sense of the ludicrous he amused the camp with his description of the vanity and carelessness of the leader, and the arrogant assumption of the officers. When, therefore, at Quecholac[9] they encountered Alonso de Mata,[10] notary of Narvaez, who had been sent with four witnesses to advise Cortés of his commission and demands, he was told first to produce his own credentials as royal notary, and being unable to do so he was refused a hearing.[11] The official mission of the messengers being thus disposed of, Cortés soothed their wounded pride with soft words and hospitable cheer; he gave them presents, and took care before dismissing them to feast their eyes on the gold and jewels which he caused his men to display, and to let them know that thousands of Tlascaltec and other troops were on the way to join him. Their report to Narvaez was a confirmation of Guevara's statement, and did much to promote the growing disaffection toward Narvaez.

route to the coast than on the previous journey. *Cartas*, 120. Bernal Diaz also says: 'embiò Cortes a Tlascala â rogar....que nos embiassen de presto quatro mil hombres.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 91. Prescott falls not only into this generally adopted error, but states that 600 troops were asked for, *Mex.*, ii. 243, whilst the chroniclers all say from 4000 to 10,000. 'La maior parte de ellos se bolviò, porque aquella Nacion no estaba acostumbrada à pelear fuera de su Tierra.' *Torquemada*, i. 482. A not very sound excuse, since their troops had already gone to Mexico.

[9] About twenty leagues east of Cholula.

[10] 'Vezino de la Pueblo, que era ballestero.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 90.

[11] 'Púsole preso en su pié de amigo.' *Demanda de Ceballos*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 441. But this is not likely. Bernal Diaz says that Narvaez was told to send communications to Tampaniquita. *Hist. Verdad.*, 91; *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 248, ii. 185.

The army now des
Ahuilizapan, and follo
Huatusco. This town
ated on the head-waters
Half-way down this riv
Cempoala, lay the town
the rendezvous. A nun
peared with complaints
consoled with promises
had come by a long an
avoid the enemy, and
sixty able-bodied soldier
at Papalote.[13]

This addition raised t
and sixty men, accordi
cluding the deserters
number were five hors
musketeers.[14] They we
brought from Mexico li
piles, or quilted cotto
dirks, a miserable outf
armed troops of Narva
of Cortés had found a
the hands of the Chi
in length, which struck
weapon, either in defenc
ticularly serviceable aga
hearing of Narvaez' arr

[12] Torquemada and Clavigero a
Diaz is sustained by Orozco y Berr
Diaz also mentions Mitalaguita, whi
east. *Hist. Verdad.*, 91. Herrera
by which he means probably the
lan. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. i.

[13] Herrera, ubi sup., leaves Ire
probable. Sandoval arrived at the
Hist. Verdad., 92; *Cortés, Residen*
before this, on the high plateau, l
is quite at sea with respect to the

[14] Bernal Diaz and Herrera sa
captains and five horsemen; Corté

[15] 'Por vn peto, ó capacete, ó
noche quãto nos pidierã por ello.'

to that province with an order for three hundred of the pikes, to be finished not with the usual iztli head, but with double points of copper, a metal which abounded in that region. The natives having previously tendered submission to the Spaniards, Cortés also asked them for two thousand warriors, to join him on pentecost day at the rendezvous. Both of these requests were promptly granted, and before the Spaniards were on the ground the messenger had returned with a force of Indians bearing the weapons,[16] with points superior in finish to the models sent. The messenger was Tobilla, a soldier from the Italian wars, and an expert at arms, particularly with the lance. Under his instruction the soldiers soon became expert pikemen, and gained no little praise. Add to this courage, increased by many victories, their admirable discipline, their influence over the natives, and their knowledge of the country, and the little band assumes more formidable proportions.

Under the several influences surrounding him the original fierce design of Narvaez in his dealings with Cortés had cooled somewhat. The calm confidence and caustic wit of Olmedo tended to inspire respect for his commander, which was not lessened by the rumor of vast Indian armies massing under his banner. Nor were his men apparently inclined to turn the sword against their countrymen.

Before the return of Mata he despatched a commission to Cortés demanding the surrender of the country, but offering him liberty to depart for any other region, accompanied by those who wished to follow his fortunes. With this object vessels and stores would be provided. The bearers of this proposal were his old friend Andrés de Duero, Guevara, another clergyman named Juan de Leon, and one or two others.[17]

[16] Thirty-eight palmos long. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. iii.

[17] According to Bernal Diaz this commission was arranged by the combined influence of Olmedo and Duero, during Olmedo's second visit to the camp. The friar appears, however, to have been there but once, when he was

Duero, it will be ren
Cortés in fitting out l
fact, without his inte
have been appointed t
dead, and it was quite n
that Duero should des
for that reason had joi
Yet his sympathies we
after a warm embrace l
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tracted, and appears to
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Narvaez' plans and pos
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able grants and offices
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Whatever may have be
doubt that Duero pro
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Guevara and the oth
were also loaded with p
porters of Cortés. A
charged them to reply

expelled. Knowing Salvatierra t
mayor, proposed that he should jo
not caring to trust himself within
dislike to speak with a traitor. 'S
'best it is to be prudent, and you
Verdad., 93.

[18] Duero was to receive the sh
expedition equal to that of Corté
similar to his own. As a further i
his two Cuban servants. On takin
Duero asked: 'What has your worsl
was the reply, 'and see to it, Señ
my conscience [Cortés' favorite oa
with all my companions, and the fi
if I see aught contrary.' *Bernal D*
Duero and Leon warned Cortés ag
sion. *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 49.

but a royal mandate, and would hold the country for the king, as was the duty of a loyal subject, and to this he and his followers were prepared to pledge their lives. Still, he was ready to meet Narvaez, each accompanied by ten attendants, in order that their respective claims might peradventure be happily adjusted. It was supposed by the captains of Cortés, who had influenced the proposal, that the result would be a division of territory, and to this they were willing to agree.[19]

Duero had been requested by Narvaez to persuade Velazquez de Leon to visit their camp, in the hope that a personal meeting might win him to their cause.[20]

Velazquez' disregard of the former summons from the enemy had confirmed the faith of Cortés in his loyalty, and since a visit to the camp of Narvaez might lead to important information, he advised him to go, at the same time intimating that his heavy ornaments might have a happy effect on that gold-thirsty crew.[21] With a view to temporize he was authorized to offer himself as mediator between the two generals, and with a supply of gold for bribes he went over to the camp of Narvaez. There he met a most cordial reception. Gently the commander remonstrated at his adherence to a traitor who had so deeply injured his relatives. "He is no traitor," replied Velazquez

[19] Cortés to remain governor of the part to be allotted him till the king should decide. *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 588. According to Gomara, who sends Veedor Álvarez Chico, Juan Velazquez, and Juan del Rio, to carry the message, Cortés proposed a private interview for the discussion of two points, whether Narvaez would leave Mexico to him and go to Pánuco or elsewhere, aided by Cortés with gold and supplies, or whether Narvaez preferred to take Mexico and give him 300 or 400 men wherewith to pass on to new conquests. *Hist. Mex.*, 144. The last proposal could only have been a trap to secure Narvaez' men. Prescott chooses to omit the proposal for an interview, and sends instead the ultimatum with Duero, a glaring disregard of Cortés' own text, as confirmed by others. *Cortés, Cartas*, 121-2; *Oviedo*, iii. 314.

[20] 'Dize Narvaez, y en todo su Real ay fama, qui si U. merced [Velazquez] vá allâ, que luego yo [Cortés] soy deshecho.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 95.

[21] Bernal Diaz states that Cortés made the request in a manner that appeared to Velazquez an attempt to probe his loyalty. He therefore refused to take any valuables with him, but was finally persuaded Juan del Rio, Cortés' equerry, kept him company.

warmly, "there has been no treason either acted or intended." He would not listen to any overtures, even when coupled with the promise of a command second only to that of Narvaez. "I have sworn loyalty to Cortés," he said, "and I will remain true." Nevertheless, that he might not appear ungracious, he promised to use his efforts toward the recognition of Narvaez' supremacy. A review of the troops was held to impress him with the superiority of the forces with which he might soon have to contend.

A courtier in manner, and with a fine presence, Velazquez quickly won his way among the captains and staff; nor did he fail to improve the opportunity by presenting his general's cause in the most attractive light. No little weight was given to his words by the heavy gold chain which fell in several coils upon his breast.[22]

Cortés affirms that the proposal for an interview with Narvaez had been accepted, and that he was preparing to attend it when the warning came that advantage would be taken of the meeting to seize or kill him.[23] If treachery was intended, it is more likely

[22] Bernal Diaz adds that, these efforts being observed by Salvatierra, Narvaez was urged to seize Velazquez, and this would have been done but for the representations of Duero and others. During the dinner given in his honor, Captain Diego Velazquez, nephew of the Cuban governor, alluded in one of his remarks to Cortés as a traitor. The guest appealed to Narvaez against such expressions. Diego repeated the term, and added that Juan did not deserve to bear the name Velazquez. Grasping his sword the latter retorted, calling him a liar. He would prove himself a better man than either uncle or nephew, if permission was granted. The others had to interfere to prevent the clashing of swords, and Narvaez was persuaded to order the turbulent visitor away. At leave-taking the general showed his annoyance, and said that it would have been better had he not come. Diego Velazquez, who stood by his side, added a threat, to which Juan rashly retorted, with a twirl of his beard: 'Before many days I shall see if your prowess equals your boast.' Alarmed at his want of self-control, Duero and other sympathizers hurried him away before he could utter any more indiscretions. He and the equerry had hardly left camp before some horsemen appeared, as if in pursuit, and caused them to increase their pace. *Hist. Verdad.*, 95–6; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. i.

[23] *Cartas*, 122. Bernal Diaz assumes that the proposal for an interview came from Narvaez, through Duero, to whom he also confided the intended treachery. Olmedo, who had pretended to be won over, was also informed. *Hist. Verdad.*, 93. Herrera supposes that Sandoval warns Cortés, who, according to Gomara, is still at Mexico when the proposal comes. *Hist. Mex.*, 144. Solis is more correct in ascribing the warning to Duero. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 83.

to have originated with Cortés, who was by no means scrupulous, as we have seen, while Narvaez appears to have borne the reputation of a man of honor.[24] It is still more probable that Cortés invented the warning in order to be free before his followers, and before Narvaez, to carry out a more momentous project, which, with the increased knowledge of affairs in the enemy's camp, and with the growth there of his party, had begun to unfold in his mind.

It was a grand conception; yet grander still the execution. It was a different matter with a small force to fall upon a well appointed army of countrymen; different from war on naked savages, to surprise them by night, or otherwise to vanquish them. Yet this was what Cortés now proposed to do. Nor, in adopting this bold measure, does he lay himself open to the charge of rashness or recklessness. His situation was desperate: he must conquer or be conquered. Cortés was no abstract theorist: he dealt mainly in concrete facts; not necessarily demonstrated facts, but facts reached often by intuition alone. With facts, intuitively or practically arrived at, he kept himself well stored. He possessed many noble qualities, but on the whole, as we have seen, his character was not cast in an immaculate mould. He was exceedingly religious; and while, as I have said, he would not let religion stand in the way of his ambition, yet he was more bigoted than any of his followers. Aside from the chivalrous abandonment of himself to fate, and the brilliant achievements thence arising, there was little admirable in him. He knew nothing of lofty magnanimity, although he did many magnanimous acts; he knew nothing of pure disinterestedness, or a generosity of soul, although he was ofttimes exceedingly generous. He had none of that sense of unswerving justness and sensitiveness to wrong which characterized Grijalva. His self-posses-

[24] The fact that he allowed such dangerous men as Velazquez de Leon and Olmedo to go free indicates that he harbored no treachery.

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would no longer show forbearance toward the traitor; he set a price on the head of Cortés, announced the estate of his followers to be confiscated, and proclaimed open war against them.[27]

Immediately after despatching his ultimatum Cortés broke camp and followed his messengers at a quick march.[28] At Rio de Canoas, or La Antigua, Velazquez came up with letters from Duero and others. They had probably been written under a preconcerted arrangement, for they were read to the leaders and discussed, the result being a unanimous resolution to advance. So forward they went, Cortés exclaiming, "Death to the ass or to him who drives it!"[29]

Crossing the swollen river with some difficulty,[30] he hurried on to Rio Chachalacas, over a league from Cempoala, where camp was formed quietly and without fires.[31] This sudden movement, coming immediately after Duero's interview with Cortés, confirms the supposition that a plot had been concocted by them, which was to surprise Narvaez under advantageous circumstances arranged by confederates. There were to be no half-way measures; all must be staked on one cast.[32]

[27] 'Daria dos mil pesos, a quien matasse a Hernando Cortes, o a Gonçalo de Sandoual.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. i. 'Traia mandado de Diego Velazquez que á mí y á ciertos de los de mi compañía que....nos ahorcase.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 121. 'Hizo proceso en forma contra Cortés, y por su sentencia, le condenó á muerte.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 300; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 143, 146.

[28] 'Dende a dos horas que se partiô el Juan Velazquez,' says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 95.

[29] Implying that since Narvaez would not listen to reason, Cortés or he should die. 'Velazquez dixo al....Cortes que adonde yva que yva a la carnesceria.' *Testimonio*, in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 249; ii. 9, 50, 185–6. On the way to Rio de Canoas, where they arrived the day after leaving camp, two hogs, with navel on the back, were killed, an incident which many interpreted as a sign of victory. Velazquez having arrived with the messenger who carried the ultimatum, the army proceeded. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 95. 'Anduvimos aquel dia casi diez leguas.' *Tapia*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 588.

[30] Two men were drowned in crossing the stream. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. ii.

[31] 'Dos leguas de los contrarios.' *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.* 'Fuimos a dormir a vn riachuelo, adõde estava en aquella sazon vna puẽte obra de vna legua de Cẽpoal.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 96. Prescott here evidently follows the erroneous topography of Solis, who confuses this creek with Rio Canoas. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 85; *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 249; ii. 50.

[32] 'Como yo deseaba evitar todo escándalo, parecióme que seria el menos,

Calling his men round him, he made one of those stirring appeals in which he knew so well how to animate their spirit and touch their heart. He reviewed their right to the conquest, and their promises to hold the country for the king. "And now comes this emissary of Señor Velazquez," Cortés continued, "full of envy and treacherous design, to appropriate the fruit of your hard-won victories. This pompous Narvaez, while seizing your riches and clothing himself in your glory, would load you with impositions and brand you with dishonor. Will you submit to this? Will you, who have overcome mighty hosts, who have seized empires, who even now hold monarchs in your hands, will you place your necks in the yoke and humbly submit to the unjust demands of this instrument of your ancient enemy? God, who has always been with us, will still fight on our side, if we will be true to him and true to our king. We must fight, and it is for life; ay, and more than life—for honor and glorious inheritance." Cheer after cheer burst from the men, while the captains hastened to assure Cortés that they would follow him to the death.[33]

Although it was generally understood that coöperation was expected within the enemy's camp, the prudent general made no mention of the fact, lest it might render the men less self-reliant. He pointed out, however, that their opponents, although more numerous than they, were unused to war, effeminate, disheartened from hardships, and discontented with their commander. He explained the arrangement of Narvaez' camp, and divided the force into three parties, under the command respectively of Sandoval,

yo ir de noche, sin ser sentido.... y prenderlo [Narvaez]; ....porque los demás querian obedecer á la justicia, en especial que los mas dellos venian por fuerza.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 123–4.

[33] He also stated that offers had been made favorable to him alone, not to them, hence he had declined them. 'Muera el asno ó quien lo aguija.' Any other course will disgrace us, was the concluding remark, whereupon we lifted him upon our shoulders and carried him round. *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 588–9. 'Hizo muchas ofertas, y prometimiẽtos, que seriamos todos muy ricos.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 98. It would be his fault, not theirs, if success failed. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. ii.

Olid, and himself, the position of the former as alguacil mayor and comandante on the coast, and the second as maestre de campo, entitling them to this distinction, young as they were, particularly since Cortés retained the direction of affairs. To the former, aided by Jorge and Gonzalo Alvarado, Alonso de Ávila, and eighty men, was intrusted the task of attacking Narvaez' special quarters, with the formally worded command to seize him, dead or alive.[34] As a further inducement toward the accomplishment of this important end, rewards of three thousand, two thousand, and one thousand pesos respectively were promised to the first three soldiers who should secure the general.[35] Olid received the important order to capture the artillery, from which the greatest danger was to be apprehended. With him were Andrés de Tapia, Diego Pizarro, and others. Cortés himself was to follow and render aid where most needed, supported by Ordaz, Grado, the brothers Chico, and others.[36] The password was 'Espíritu Santo,' suggested by Olmedo with reference to pentecost day, on which all these events took place.

While occupied with their preparations a deserter arrived, sent by Duero, it seems, to warn Cortés that,

[34] 'Gonzalo de Sãdoual, Alguazil mayor desta Nueua España, por su Magestad, yo os mando q prendays el cuerpo de Panfilo de Narvaez, e si se os defendiere, matadle, que assi conviene al servicio de Dios, y de su Magestad, y le prendió a vn Oidor.' Countersigned by Secretary Pedro Hernandez. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 98; *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 590.

[35] Herrera writes 3000, 1500, and 1000 pesos de oro. Cortés' acts are said by the men of Velazquez to have been prompted by 'un diabólico pensamiento é infernal osadia.' *Demanda de Ceballos*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 441.

[36] The above agrees chiefly with Herrera, who assigns Sandoval 60 men, and names a number of the leading members of each party. The parties were to keep a stone's throw apart. One of Cortés' squads was to look to the cacique's palace, and another to Alcalde Yuste's quarters. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. iii. He is evidently confused on many points, and several names are guessed at. Bernal Diaz states that Pizarro, with 60 young men, including himself, was charged to capture the artillery; Sandoval received 60 men; Velazquez de Leon also a force of 60, wherewith to attack Diego Velazquez' quarters; Cortés remained with a reserve of 20. It is more likely that a higher officer, like Olid, received the order to capture the artillery, rather than the comparatively unknown Pizarro. Velazquez de Leon does not appear to have been detailed for his charge till afterward. Cortés names only Sandoval as the leader of one party of 80 men, he himself following with the remaining 170. *Cartas*, 123. Solis reverses Herrera's order. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 91–2.

advised of his approach by the Indians,[37] Narvaez had taken alarm, and was forming the best part of his troops in the field[38] between him and Cempoala. To this he had been prompted also by the more watchful of his captains, who had not failed to observe the growing sympathy for the rival general. This most unpleasant change of tactics disconcerted Cortés not a little, and for the time he could do nothing but remain in camp, protected in front by the creek. Fortune again came to the rescue, however, in the form of a heavy rain, which fell all Sunday. It was the beginning of the rainy season.[39] Most of Narvaez' men, unused to military service, and enervated by the frivolous inactivity of the camp, found this highly disagreeable, and began to complain at what they termed an unnecessary precaution against an insignificant foe. The friends of Cortés did not fail to take advantage of this feeling by ridiculing the manœuvre, representing that no troops, much less a handful of boasters, would think of attacking in such weather. They would in any case be far more secure within their strong quarters, and by leaving an advance post in the field timely warning could be given. This appeared to be reasonable, and since Narvaez by no means relished the exposure, he gave orders to return to quarters before dusk, leaving, however, a body of forty horsemen on the plain and two spies at a brook ford, about half a league off. The remainder of the horses were kept saddled at the entrance to the camp, and the men were instructed to sleep on their arms, prepared at any rate to reoccupy the field in the morning. The watchword was 'Santa María.'

Cortés was occupied in devising new measures when

[37] The stout cacique had remonstrated with the general on his carelessness, assuring him that Malinche with his Teules was far different. 'When you least expect it he will be here and will kill you.' Although the warning was received with laughter, yet the hint was not lost. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 96.

[38] Eighty horsemen and 500 infantry. 'Y llegó casi una legua de donde yo estaba.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 123.

[39] *Laet, Nov. Orb.*, 221; *Hakluyt's Voy.*, iii. 467.

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whit-monday,[43] when the
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to arms, Narvaez lost time w
elicited only that his companion
that he fancied he had heard Sp

[43] May 28th. *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, 277.
it to be the night between Saturday and Sun
pretty clear in mentioning the following night.
[44] Estimated by various authorities at from
Testimonio, in *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 12, 168.

of the captains, friendly to Cortés, ridiculed the story as a dream, and entertained the general with speculations about the projects of the audacious rebel.[45] While so occupied the alarm of the sentinels was heard. Cortés was upon them.[46] Narvaez at once became the self-possessed commander, and hastened to issue the necessary orders. There was a rush to arms, and the confusion was increased by the appearance of innumerable fire-flies, which the besieged mistook for the fire-arms and spears of a large army.[47]

In order to avoid the range of the guns, Cortés had kept his men along the sides of the approaches, and on finding himself discovered he shouted, "Close with them! At them!" Fife and drum joined in and echoed the cry.[48] Olid rushed on the battery, ranged along a terrace on the ascent to the commander's house. So sudden was the attack that those of the artillerymen who still remained loyal had time to discharge only one gun, which killed two men.[49] The next instant Olid, Pizarro, and their followers had practically secured the pieces, and were pressing the defenders, who offered little resistance. At the same time

[45] Expressing the belief that Cortés would be foolhardy enough to attack in the morning. *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 589.

[46] 'Llegamos junto á las centinelas sin que nos sintiesen, é iban huyendo é diciendo: Arma, arma!' *Id.*, 590. 'Auisado Naruaez, y se estaua vistiendo vna cota: y dixo aquiẽ le auisò, no tengays pena, y mandò tocar al arma.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. iii.

[47] Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 99, calls the flies cocayos.

[48] Prescott, following Herrera, makes Cortés shout the password 'Espíritu Santo,' which Bernal Diaz says was given as a secret word for mutual recognition.

[49] So say all the original authorities that refer to it, except Bernal Diaz, who claims that four guns were fired, three balls passing overhead and the fourth killing three men. Cortés acknowledges no casualties from it. Tapia even intimates that no discharge took place, owing to the fact that to protect the touch-holes from rain they had been covered with wax and tiles. Confused by the sudden alarm the artillerists applied the match, forgetful of the wax, and 'we saw that the charges failed to go off.' *Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 590. Perhaps he would have been more correct in saying that the men were confused by the glittering bribes of Usagre. Bachiller A. Perez testifies: 'Dixo al artillero poned fuego a estos tiros....puso fuego e no salieron los tiros e oyo dezir este testigo que avian puesto cera en los dichos tiros.' *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 85. This implies that the wax had been smeared on by accomplices.

Sandoval rushed past and hurried up the stair-way to the summit, where Narvaez stood to receive him.[50] A volley of arrows and bullets was fired at him, but being poorly aimed, out of consideration for comrades below, he escaped unharmed. Nothing daunted, Sandoval's followers pressed onward in a compact column, and in a moment they were on the summit platform. "Surrender!" shouted their leader with resolute confidence, to which Narvaez responded with a jeer, calling on his men to spare no traitors. But the order was an empty one, for their swords and short Spanish lances availed nothing against the line of bristling copper points on the long pikes of the attacking party, and step by step they were driven backward into the building. What they did with their fire-arms or cross-bows is not stated.

Meanwhile Cortés was doing brave work below. One body engaged the cavalry, unhorsing with the all-effective pike those who had managed to reach the saddle, and cutting the girths. Another body turned their attention to the reinforcements which came rushing from the adjoining quarters to the scene of action, and taking advantage of the confusion and the darkness, relieved only at fitful intervals by the moon, their cool opponents readily disarmed the greater number, so that but a small proportion made their way through the besieging lines.[51] While thus occupied they heard a shout from above, "Victory! Victory for Cortés! Narvaez is dead!"[52] Cortés immediately caused the cry to be taken up by the rest of his men, which added to the confusion of the enemy.

It appears that Sandoval, although reinforced by

[50] With from 40 to 100 men, are the different estimates.

[51] 'Vinien los contrarios á nuestra gente, creyendo que eran de los suyos, á preguntar, "¿qué es esto?" é así los prendien.' *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 590. 'De las otras dos torres.,..no le acudierõ, porq̃ dizen algunos que se hizieron sordos, otros que no pudieron llegar, por el impedimento de las tropas de Cortes.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. iii.; *Cardona*, in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 181–2.

[52] 'Uitoria, vitoria por los del nõbre del Espíritu Sãto, q muerto es Narvaez! *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 98. Even this authority now shouts forth the password!

to his aid.[55] By the time the guns were in position, most of the forces of Sandoval and Olid were free to aid Velazquez de Leon in the task of reducing the quarters in which Salvatierra and Diego Velazquez still held out.

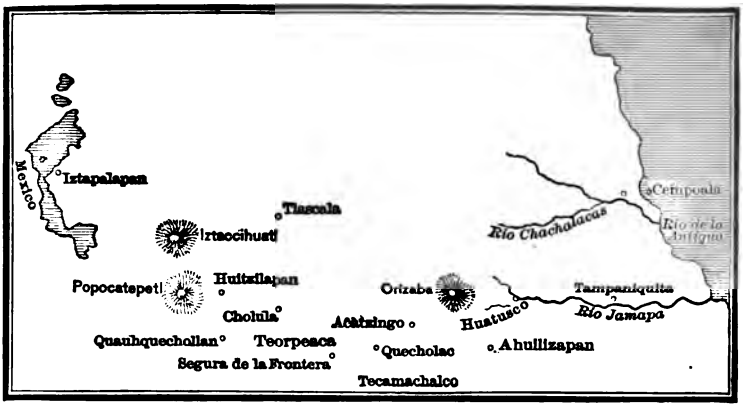
They were summoned to submit to the king and to Cortés, under pain of death, but gave a defiant answer. The guns were now brought into play, and fired first over their heads to frighten them. As the balls came whizzing by, the blustering Salvatierra, who had sworn to eat the ears of Cortés, declared himself sick. His fierceness changed to abject fear, and his men asserted that they never saw a captain behave so contemptibly. The shots, supported by promises, soon brought about the surrender of this pyramid.

The last to hold out was Diego Velazquez, a brave fellow, well liked by his followers; but after a few more parleys, and the loss of three men from well directed shots, his party was also prevailed on to descend and deliver up their arms,[56] the leaders being secured and removed in irons to the chapel, the wounded receiving there the attentions of a surgeon. Cortés looked in to examine their condition, and as the whisper reached Narvaez that the hero of the day was present, he turned and said: "Señor Cortés, you may hold high the good fortune you have had, and the great achievement of securing my person."

[55] 'Se retrajeron á una torre alta de un ídolo de aquel pueblo casi cuatrocientos hombres, é muchos de los de caballo....salieron al campo.' *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, 590. Herrera says that 300 intrenched themselves till the morning. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. iv. Cortés reached the battery just in time to prevent a catastrophe, as Tapia relates. A hot-blooded young companion of the latter, carried away by excitement, rushed to powder barrels, eight in number, and shouted, 'Let us fire the powder and spoil it for the enemy!' Cleaving a barrel, he cast a brand into it, and threw himself flat upon the ground, commending his life to God. It happened, fortunately, that this barrel contained sandals, which by some mistake had been mixed up with the ammunition. After waiting in vain a while for the explosion, the madcap discovered the reason and began to open another barrel. At this moment Cortés came up, and learning of his intention he rushed forward and snatched away the brand.

[56] Including also Juan Yuste, Juan Bono, and Gomara.

With a twinkle of malicious merriment Cortés regarded for a moment his fallen foe, whose insufferable conceit did not desert him even here, and said:



"Señor Narvaez, many deeds have I performed since coming to Mexico, but the least of them all has been to capture you."[57]

[57] *Oviedo*, iii. 510. Bernal Diaz lengthens Cortés' reply: He thanked God for the victory and for giving him such valiant gentlemen and companions to aid him. One of the smallest things he had done in New Spain was to secure and defeat him; it appeared more daring to seize an oidor of his majesty. Las Casas relates that Narvaez had a not dissimilar surprise by night from Cuban Indians, during his campaign for Velazquez, and had a narrow escape. *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 6–8.

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[1] *Cartas*, 124; *Co*
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to make more secure his magnificent prize before the all-searching sun should disclose the paucity and poverty of the victors, Cortés seated himself in state, arrayed in a wide orange-colored robe, and ordered the conquered troops to pass before him, and swear allegiance to the king, and fealty to him as captain-general and justicia mayor. This was done by nearly all, some humbling themselves and kissing his hand, while the late hostile leaders and old acquaintances were recognized with friendly greetings and embraces.[2]

Meanwhile Olid and Ordaz, each with a corps, set out on the captured horses to summon stragglers and seek the forty troopers in the field. Duero and other friends of Cortés being among them, little persuasion was needed to win the party over, and shortly after dawn the whole cavalcade came in to the sound of fife and drum, shouting vivas for Cortes.[3] High above this noise were heard from a window the voices of two women, named Ordaz, filling the air with their loud philippics. "Villainous Dominicanos!" they cried to the soldiers of their own party, "the distaff would better suit you than the sword. A good account have you given of yourselves! Unfortunate women we to have come to the wars with such men!" Truly

this was not done for want of a leader. Nor did they favor his advice to plunder the baggage of Cortés, which was protected only by Indians, and to embark with Diego Velazquez. Carrasco accordingly proceeded alone to the baggage camp, and securing a horse and lance he returned and urged them to follow. He had evidently supernatural means wherewith to penetrate the besieging force. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. iv. Duran allows Cortés to form ambuscades and leap walls, so that the arms are secured ere the men of Narvaez can form in defence. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 453. Peter Martyr disposes briefly of the matter, and assumes that the chief captains of Narvaez were seduced. dec. v. cap. v.; *Castellanos, Varones ilustres de Indias*, 71–2; *Galvano's Discov.*, 144–5.

[2] 'Cortes se mandò pregonar por Capitan general, y justicia mayor, de ambos exercitos.' Carrasco was three days in stocks before he yielded obedience. *Herrera*, ubi sup. 'Y todo esto era de noche, que no amanecia.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 99.

[3] 'Viua, viua la gala de los Romanos, que siẽdo tan pocos, han vencido a Narvaez!' to which Guidelo, the negro jester of Narvaez, added, 'Behold! the Romans never performed such a feat.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 99. Herrera speaks more at length of the sayings of this negro, who was rewarded with a crown of gold worth 600 ducats. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. iv.

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[4] "I saw Narvaez in Spain in 1525
as a traitor. He asked but royal pe
enemy; furthermore, he was a liar,
been betrayed by those in whom
chronicler cannot excuse his carele
Cortés; and he told him so. iii. 316

And the cost of this glory and advantage, how insignificant it was! Four of his own men and fifteen of the enemy, including a captain, beside a number wounded on both sides; this was all.[5]

In his report to the king Cortés seeks to gloss over the occurrence by stating that only two men were killed, intimating that it was on both sides. There was a deeper reason for this and other falsehoods than the wish to hide the bloody result of fratricidal conflict. He was still doubtful as to the view taken in Spain of his conduct, and could not afford to prejudice his case by laying bare every misfortune. He was aware that even to the impartial observer he must appear as a defaulter in the duty owing by him to a principal, and in the agreement or partnership which he had formed, and also as the usurper of an expedition fitted out in the name and under the auspices, at least, of Velazquez. His plea rested on his brave and masterly conquest of a rich country, and on his election to independent command by a party formed on the pretence that the superior interests of the sovereign demanded the immediate subjugation of the country. But his acceptance of that command was a breach of duty and of contract; the right of the party to act as it did was doubtful, and its pretence hasty, or perhaps usurped from Velazquez, who had first entertained it; while the commission to undertake the conquest had already

[5] Bernal Diaz mentions fifteen [a misprint of *dos* for *doce* makes it only five] deaths among Narvaez' men, including Captain Rojas, Alférez Fuentes, who was an hidalgo of Seville, and Carretero, one of the deserters from Cortés' explorers. Cortés lost four. *Hist. Verdad.*, 99. Cortés prudently mentions to the king only two deaths, but leaves it uncertain to what side they belonged. *Cartas*, 124. Gomara claims them for Cortés, and states that Narvaez lost his eye, his honor, and sixteen men. *Hist. Mex.*, 148. Cortés lost two men and one wounded; Narvaez eleven. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. iv. Cortés four, Narvaez eleven, besides many wounded on both sides. *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 138. Solis supposes that two wounded of Cortés' army died, making four in all, while Narvaez lost fifteen. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 101. One version claims that Narvaez lost fifteen by arms and six by fire in the burning of the quarters, which is probably an exaggeration. Narvaez lost all his property, including notes of hand. *Demanda de Ceballos*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 442. The testimony in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. ii., varies from twelve to sixteen for Narvaez.

been conferred on the latter. Velazquez held besides the right of a discoverer to this coast, and above all the royal grant to it, vaguely worded though it was so far as indicating the situation and extent of territory. He had a right to claim his own; though circumstances had so changed, Cortés claimed, as to render this perilous to the interests of God, the king, and the people, which rose above those of individuals; and in ignoring the orders of the audiencia to desist from war on his countrymen he followed only natural law and justifiable impulse. In this respect Cortés was equally guilty, since his duty was to yield to the rightful claimant. He pleads in his letter to the king, however, that self-preservation obliged him to resist, for Narvaez had determined to hang him and several of his followers. Here he again hides the fact that favorable terms were at one time offered. "Had Narvaez carried off the victory," he continues, "it would have been with a great loss, which must have so weakened him as to surely enable the Indians to succeed in their meditated revolt. This would have lost the country to the king and to the faith, and twenty years would not have sufficed to regain it."[6] In brief, howsoever we admire Cortés, however much we would prefer his banner to that of Velazquez or Narvaez, we must admit that he had hardly a shadow of right on his side, and that no position in which he could possibly place himself was tenable. He was a defaulter, pirate, usurper, renegade, traitor, outlaw, hypocrite; but he was a most lovable villain, an admirable soldier, a rare hero. On the other hand, Velazquez was right. But, though deeply injured, he was disagreeable; though foully wronged, he was vanquished. And the Spanish monarch was not the first or last to smile on iniquitous success, or turn the cold shoulder to whining, disappointed virtue.

[6] Oviedo looks on Cortés' reasons as insufficient to justify his procedure, such as ordering Narvaez to be seized, and demanding of him to exhibit a royal commission, 'as if Cortés had been appointed by the king.' Velazquez, as the principal who sent him forth, had every right to remove him. iii. 316.

In the course of the morning the soldier Barrientos, who had been staying in Chinantla, arrived with the promised Chinantec warriors, two thousand in number.[7] They had reached the rendezvous on pentecost day, as ordered, but Cortés had found it convenient to advance on Cempoala sooner than he had intended. An imposing sight they presented as they marched by amidst vivas in a file of three abreast, gorgeous with plumes and shields, the centre man with bow and arrows, while his companions on either side carried the formidable pike, tipped with glistening iztli. It was fortunate that they had failed to arrive in time, since much bloodshed was saved thereby. In fact the soldiers of Narvaez expressed a fear that they would have fared badly with such opponents. Cortés was nevertheless delighted with their coming, since this proved not only the sincerity of their friendship, but showed the conquered that he did indeed control native armies. Distributing some beads and trinkets, he bade them return peaceably under the supervising care of Barrientos.

One of the first measures after the fight was to secure the fleet; and for this purpose a suitable force was sent down to the port to take the vessels to Villa Rica, and remove the sails and rudders, so as to prevent the escape of any to Cuba.[8] Shortly after, when the masters and crews had tendered allegiance, the vessels were placed in charge of Pedro Caballero, captain of one of the vessels under Narvaez, in whom Cortés had great confidence.[9] The fortress was again

[7] Bernal Diaz places the number at 1500, while Ceballos raises it to 3000, under Heredia, and places the arrival a day or two later. Herrera assumes that they came in time to march with Cortés on Cempoala. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. i.

[8] Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 100, names Francisco de Lugo as the captain of this party, but Tirado states that he had been sent back to Mexico as an adherent of Velazquez. *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 6. 'Dió con los once navíos que el dicho mi parte allí tenia, al través, é les fizo quemar.' *Demanda de Ceballos*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 442. Bernal Diaz also intimates that all but two vessels were destroyed when the army proceeded to Mexico and one afterward. *Hist. Verdad.*, 109. It is not probable, however, that more than a few were destroyed, because unseaworthy. Some were wrecked a few months later.

[9] 'Por Almiráte, y Capitan de la mar....al qual dizen que le dió primero

garrisoned, with a larger force,[10] and thither were sent Narvaez and Salvatierra in chains.[11]

As for the rest, Cortés applied himself with his usual skill to recompense those who had remained true, and to conciliate the yet unreconciled. He reminded them that they had come not to risk their lives for Velazquez, but to gain honor and wealth under the banner of the king, and he was prepared to aid in this by offering them equal terms with his veterans. As an earnest he restored within two days their arms to all except a few leaders, and ordered his men to return the horses, weapons, and other effects taken by them as spoils of war.[12] What with

buenos tejuelos de oro.' His baptismal name was either Juan or Pedro. Two vessels were still expected to arrive. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 100, 113. Caballero was probably an old friend. 'Pedro de Maluenda criado de Diego Velazquez, que venia por mayordomo de Naruaez, recogio y guardo los nauios y todo la ropa y hazienda.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 148. By Cortés' order, adds Herrera.

[10] 'Envié otros docientos hombres á la villa de la Veracruz.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 125. Clavigero assumes that Cortés at this time already gave orders for removing Villa Rica southward, but events interfered with the project. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 120.

[11] 'Cortés le [Narvaez] tuvo preso con muy ásperas prisiones tres años, poco mas ó menos, é con guardias que nadie no le pudiese ver; é aquellos pasados, le quitó las prisiones é le tuvo preso otros dos años.' So says Narvaez' agent. *Demanda de Ceballos*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 442–3. The testimony in *Cortés, Residencia*, reduces the term to two years, and intimates that several other men were kept at Villa Rica, under surveillance at least. i. 223, 362–3, et seq.

[12] Narvaez claims to have been robbed of 100,000 castellanos' worth of effects, and it is not likely that his property was restored. See *Demanda de Ceballos*, ubi sup. Bernal Diaz had to surrender a horse fully accoutred, two swords, three daggers, and other effects. *Hist. Verdad.*, 100. Santa Clara intimates that the horses and arms were not as a rule restored. *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 169. If so, compensation was probably given, according to the *Relacion hecha por el Señor Andrés de Tápia, sobre la Conquista de México.* This is one of the most valuable documents extant on the earlier period of the conquest, but it is unfortunately only a fragment, which takes up the narrative from the eve of leaving Cuba, and carries it to the capture of Narvaez, relating with rather uneven completeness the principal incidents of the voyage to Vera Cruz, the march to Mexico, the stay there, and the operations against the forces of Velazquez. Andrés de Tapia appears from his own statement to have been a poor nephew of Governor Velazquez, to whom he presented himself just in time to join the expedition of Cortés. At this time, says Bernal Diaz, he was about 24 years old, of good build, with a grave face, slight beard, and somewhat ashy complexion. *Hist. Verdad.*, 246. He took an active part in the leading wars and expeditions during and after the conquest, and became one of the most noted among the captains, favored by Cortés, with whom he was frequently associated, accompanying him also on a voyage to Spain. Settling in Mexico, he died there peacefully, long after 1539, to judge from his reference to this date. His

their admiration of the liberality and soldierly qualities of Cortés, and the prospect of speedy advancement, there were but few who did not immediately and cheerfully accept the terms. But this was by no means to the taste of the aforesaid veterans. They had seen with envy that rich presents were made to the conquered, while they, whose courage and devotion had achieved such magnificent results, received nothing, and were even told to return what they regarded as lawful spoils; and, further, to share with these late comers and intended despoilers the fruits of their years of toil and victories. A general murmur arose, and many soldiers refused to surrender the appropriated effects. Captain Ávila and Father Olmedo being requested to remonstrate, did so earnestly, and told Cortés that he acted like Alexander, who honored more the conquered than those who won the battle. He and all he possessed belonged to his comrades, was the reply, but at present it was necessary to conciliate their invaluable acquisition, whose aid was needed to overcome the threatening danger in Mexico, and who being the more numerous party might otherwise rise against them. Their aims effected, the entire resources of a vast and rich country were theirs. Olmedo was convinced of the wisdom of the course, although he considered that too great liberality had been shown. The headstrong Ávila pressed the point with his natural haughtiness, whereupon Cortés said: "I am for Mexico; those who please may follow; those who do not, may leave it alone. There are yet women in Spain to bear soldiers." "Yes, and captains and governors," retorted Ávila.

narrative, as may be supposed, is a panegyric upon his leader and patron, and some statements have accordingly to be weighed, but this defect impairs the importance of only a few passages, the rest being highly valuable, and many of them unique in their testimony. Guided by a reference in *Bibl. de Autores Esp.*, xxii., Señor Icazbalceta of Mexico obtained, after great trouble, a copy of the apparent original from the Royal Academy of History, Madrid, entitled: *Relacion de algunas cosas de las que acaecieron al Muy Ilustre Señor Don Hernando Cortés*, etc. This he published in his *Coleccion de Documentos*, ii. 554–94. The last three pages form an appendix of brief remarks on the inhabitants and resources of New Spain.

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been partly dedicated to Christian worship, on condition that no human sacrifices should take place.[14] A festival of this prominence could not fail to recall with all its force to the natives the indignities to which they and their gods had been subjected. We have seen how narrowly an uprising on account of the occupation of the great temple by strange religious emblems was escaped, and how it was restrained only by the promise of the speedy departure of the Spaniards. Before Cortés had left the capital he saw the smouldering fire, and it was this that led him to strengthen the defences of the fort, to obtain extra supplies from Tlascala, and to enjoin the strictest watchfulness and moderation.

The hostile feeling was by no means diminished by the tidings of another larger host of invaders with doubtful motives. At a meeting of native leaders it was admitted that the promises and statements of the newly arrived Spaniards could no more be relied upon than those of the deceitful Malinche, and the deferred proposition to drive out or to kill the Spaniards was renewed with ardor. A better opportunity for carrying out such a measure could never again be found. The great Cortés with his cunning controlling mind was absent. There remained only a small force in charge of the city, and the troops on the seaboard were divided against each other. On the other hand a multitude of pilgrims were pouring in for the festival; and what better subjects to be worked upon for an uprising than these, and what better incentive than religion? Beside the appeal for vengeance on the desecrators of their altars came the patriotic call for the release of an oppressed sovereign, whose influence was still supreme with many, and the alluring prospect of securing the rich spoils in possession of the Spaniards and the Tlascaltecs, the latter still more detested as an inferior race which after years of contest had now assumed the

[14] For description of the feast, so as better to understand what follows, see *Native Races*, ii. 317–21, iii. 422–8.

galling attitude of master. The preparati during the late fermentation required only t fected. More arms were made, the people w by passionate appeals, warriors were enr other measures taken.[15]

The utmost secrecy had been observed b spirators, but with so many confidants, ac race jealousy, by ties of friendship, by intere one above all others, the love of woman, that was whispered in Alvarado's ear.[16] Yet to tress, who in her devotion to the lover forgo to home and kindred, must not be charged r is her due. Sharpened by the remembran wrongs suffered on battle-field and stone of the wits of the Tlascaltecs discovered evide their hatred failed not to magnify. Warn hardly required, however, to indicate that s unusual was stirring, for the demeanor of th had undergone a yet more marked change. were further diminished; servants sent t were abused and ill-treated, and insolence w even to the Spaniards themselves.[17] A s alarming sign was the discovery of an ur wall,[18] and after obtaining further particu a devoted Tezcucan chief,[19] afterward know Hernando, Alvarado resolved to inspect th temple where the chief celebration was hel a number of suspicious circumstances wer which the Castilians readily wrought into th realities; among them several victims des

[15] Oviedo refers the council and its acts only to the time preceding Cortés' departure. iii. 509.

[16] 'Esto afirmaron muchas mugeres, de las quales se sabia siẽ *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. viii.

[17] 'Nos quitaron la comida e enbiando por ella no nos la q nos davan de palos a las naborias e estando lavando una yndia c la hahogaron e dezian e publicavan que asy avian de hazer a *Ramirez*, *Proceso contra Alvarado*, 66. This testimony is co number of his followers.

[18] 'Con muchas escalas para subir y matar a los españoles.' *Ia* in *Id*, 144.

[19] 'Le prince acolhua Tecocoltzin.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, I.* iv. 287.

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ceso contra Alvarado, 69,

answer also for the apparently abject Aztecs. It thoroughly suited his rash daring and cruel disposition. To attack is to win, was his maxim. The difference in circumstances hardly entered into consideration, chief among which was the smaller force, unsupported by the neutrality of half the city, as at Cholula, and without allies close at hand. The gathering of so many nobles and military leaders in connection with the war-god celebration provided the opportunity desired, since this would permit the blow to be directed against those who were looked on as the promoters of the revolt; and deprived of their leaders the people would be likely to abandon any further attempt. This plan met with general approval.[24]

The hour[25] having arrived for the visit to the temple,[26] Alvarado selects half the force to accompany him,[27] and proceeds thither, armed with more than usual care. Upon those who remain in charge of the fort, says Tapia, devolves the safer, though even more cruel task of slaughtering the greater part of the courtiers and attendants,[28] who have this day presented themselves in larger numbers than usual.

[24] 'Los españoles lo requirieron al dicho D. Pedro.' *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 150. Tapia pretends that he objected. *Id.*, 37.

[25] Alvarado and his men in more than one instance indicate the day when the dough idol was raised. *Id.*, 67, 113, 134. Ixtlilxochitl points to the following greater day, which he dates May 19th. *Relaciones*, 412. Sahagun is not so definite, but his editor accepts the chief day, calling it whitsunday, May 27th. *Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 99. In another place he says May 25th. *Tezcuco en los ultimos tiempos*, 274. One of Alvarado's men states that it was a Thursday. *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 131.

[26] The testimony of the conquerors, confirmed by native paintings and records, leaves no doubt that the dance of the nobles and the massacre took place in the great temple adjoining the fort. *Ramirez, Proceso*, 37 et seq. Acosta writes, however, that they occurred in the palace, *Hist. Ind.*, 522, and he is partly right, since a massacre was carried out here also. Clavigero follows Acosta, and assumes that the fort is meant. He argues that the dance was held there so that the emperor might, as customary, be present, and that a massacre could not have been undertaken by so few Spaniards in the great temple, where the arsenals were situated, and where the concourse of people must have been very large. *Storia Messi.*, iii. 118. The Spaniards had forbidden the use of arms during the festival, and none appear to have been produced in the temple. Among other precautions Alvarado appears to have insisted on a small attendance beyond that of nobles, and most authorities so accept it.

[27] Torquemada says 50 men; the Tlascaltecs are seldom counted.

[28] 'Que no quedaron sino el dicho Montezuma y quinze o veynte criados,'

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from the maddened multitude without were soon heard, roaring in response to the death clamor of their countrymen. Warned by the guard at the gates, the plunderers hastened to regain the fort. Yells of execration greeted them as they issued from the temple, and showers of stones and darts fell thick, while the front ranks of the assailants pressed them with swords and clubs.[33] Short as was the distance to the

[33] *Tapia*, and others, in *Ramirez*, 38, 67, 131. Torquemada assumes that the arms used by the assailants were those which had been collected for the outbreak in the houses adjoining the temple. i. 490. As regards the motives for the massacre, the Spanish authorities seek as a rule to justify them, while the native accounts are equally inclined to ascribe them to greed or to wanton cruelty. According to Sahagun the celebration was held at the instance of Alvarado, who slaughtered the devotees without known cause. *Hist. Conq.*, 27 (ed. 1840), 100. Duran, who is as prejudiced as he is blundering, dates the massacre after the return of Cortés from the coast. Alvarado persuades him to secure the submission of the country by killing all the lords and chiefs, and they are accordingly allured to their death. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 456–7. Las Casas inclines to a similar motive; 'quo magis cresceret, & augeretur in his provinciis formido illorum crudelitatis.' *Regio. Ind. Devastat.*, 30. Nearer the truth comes Ixtlilxochitl, who, while disposed to credit his countrymen, dares not accuse the Spaniards, and so takes the prudent middle course of casting the blame on the Tlascaltecs. Prompted by the hatred bred of former wrongs inflicted by Mexicans, and by greed for spoils, they invent charges of treason and speedy revolt. Alvarado, being also avaricious, is readily induced to believe them, and considers it besides a good opportunity to obtain control by dispatching the assembled chiefs, unarmed as they are. *Hist. Chich.*, 300; *Relaciones*, 389, 412. Ixtlilxochitl is not to blame for his assumption, since his admired guide, the biographer of Cortés, does not attempt to defend Alvarado, but merely mentions that he was influenced either by reports of a proposed uprising or by avarice. *Gomara*, *Hist. Mex.*, 151. The commentator Chimalpain says bluntly that the latter motive 'es mas de creer.' *Hist. Conq.*, i. 281; *Benzoni*, *Mondo Nuovo*, 94; *Pizarro y Orellana*, *Varones Ilvstres*, 92. Vetancurt rather condemns Alvarado for acting on insufficient evidence. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 139–40. Cortés' silence respecting the cause may be attributed to his usual prudence in suppressing unpleasant facts. He states, however, that Montezuma supplicated him not to be annoyed at what had happened, since he regretted it as much as the Spaniards. This implies that the Indians were regarded as originators of the trouble. The severity with which he treated the emperor on his return to Mexico, notwithstanding the efforts made by him to save the Spaniards, indicates still more strongly that Cortés was convinced of Mexican treachery. *Cartas*, 126 et seq. In the letter of the army to the emperor the uprising is attributed to Narvaez' plots. *Carta del Ejército*, in *Icazbalceta*, *Col. Doc.*, i. 429. Herrera notices the native versions, particularly that which accuses the Tlascaltecs of having trumped up charges against the Mexicans, but he affirms, 'la verdad fue, que pensaron matar los Castellanos.' He thereupon enumerates proofs of the plot. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. viii. Torquemada, who is more fully acquainted with native accounts, condemns them as unreliable, and states that Sahagun accepted them without investigation. i. 489–91. The charge that Alvarado was influenced by avarice is promptly rejected by Bernal Diaz. 'No lo creo, ni nunca tal oí, ni es de creer que tal hiziesse.' His motive was to inspire terror and inflict such injury as to prevent the Indians from attacking

fort, much time was occupied in reaching it, and hardly a man escaped injury. Alvarado was severely wounded, while one soldier and a number of allies were slain.

him. That they intended to attack, Bernal Diaz fully believes. *Hist. Verdad.*, 102. Solis is quite indignant at the supposition that avarice impelled the Spaniards. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 117. According to Oviedo the intention of the natives was to kill also Cortés on his return. He inserts without comment the version of Cano, married to Montezuma's daughter, that avarice was the motive. iii. 510, 550. Acosta, who generally adheres to native versions, does not apparently find them reliable in this case, since he merely says that a 'chastisement' was inflicted, but that it was excessive. *Hist. Ind.*, 522. This is also the opinion of Clavigero, who believes that the Spaniards were deceived by Tlascaltec stories of a plot, and wished to anticipate it, on the principle that 'chi assalisce vince. Checchessia, la sua condotta non può scusarsi d'imprudenza, e di crudeltà.' *Storia Mess.*, iii. 119. This view has been widely adopted, even by the modern Mexican historian Carbajal Espinosa, plagiarist though he be. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 339. His confrère Bustamante, as editor of Sahagun, is inclined to magnify even the exaggerations of the latter. Prescott wavers between Clavigero's views and disbelief in Alvarado's apology. But in expressing his opinion he misconstrues Bernal Diaz and raises some meaningless questions. *Mex.*, ii. 284–6. There is no doubt that the Indians were bent on mischief. A large faction had been hostile to the Spaniards ever since their arrival, as intruders who menaced the existing politic, economic, and religious order. This feeling had been steadily spreading under the threatening attitude assumed by the unbidden guests in seizing the emperor, in extorting tribute, and in assuming mastery. With the occupation of the temple by the Christian emblems the climax was reached; and now the whole population became possessed with a desire to avenge not only the outraged idols, but themselves and their sovereign, and to uphold the tottering throne. The observations of the Spaniards and the reports of their informers were correct in pointing to an uprising, to take place during the gathering of pilgrims for the war-god festival, when the reduced number of the Spanish garrison favored the design. The confession of several natives, whether extorted by torture or not, confirmed the charges and justified belief. Alvarado could not as a prudent commander ignore them, and duty required him to use prompt measures for the protection of his force, and of the interests of his king and the expedition. It might be urged by those who seek to defend this kind of thing that seizure of the victims for hostages would have been equally effective and more humane; but from the precedence established by the general himself at Cholula the conduct of the rash Alvarado is scarcely to be wondered at. Cortés' object had been to strike terror as the only effective lesson for a people who seemed to recognize no other sway, and if this was regarded as necessary with the Cholultecs, Alvarado must have held it to be doubly so now. His position was far more critical than that at the former city, for his resources were smaller, the prospect of aid was hopeless, and escape was cut off. He had to strike promptly and strike well. Here were the leaders, and here the temple, wherein a punishment would apparently have greater effect. It was natural to suppose that the installation of the war-god would be attended by the leaders or representative men of the enemy; and to level the blow at this class must be considered as less cruel at least than to strike the multitude, as at Cholula. Perhaps the recognition of this was a reason for the silence of Cortés. All this discussion, however, as to the minor motives prompting a dastardly deed I do not regard as very relevant. I am very sure that the motives of the Spaniards in this massacre were not plunder. They were playing for a higher stake, for the whole country, and, in case they won, all in it would be theirs. The present heavy blow was but one of the points in the game.

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borhood. Beside the smaller courts inclosed by tl buildings, a larger yard appears to have been forme by a stout wall, within which the allies had erecte temporary shelter. This was the weakest point, ar here the battering parties were chiefly collected. Tl flanks and curtains of modern fortification were wan ing, and the protection of the wall face depended c the turrets which rose here and there, and on tl parapets, with their few embrasures.

Though attempting no sortie beyond the immedia vicinity of the gates, the Spaniards were not sparin of powder and arrows, and picked off the more pr sumptuous assailants, while their pikes and sworc did good service at the parapets and openings. Tl cannon, however, loaded as they were with sma shot and scraps, which brought down a dozen or mor at a time, were the only weapons that could hold th enemy in check. On one occasion, when a chargin party had approached in a somewhat wavering colum to carry the main entrance, the cannon charge faile to explode, owing to dampness. This the assailant were quick to observe, and with yells of encourage ment they rushed forward, and were soon in a hanc to-hand conflict with a party which had sallied t break the first column. The Spaniards plied thei swords and pikes with desperation, supported by desultory fire from the musketeers and archers of th fort, but without effect. The gaps made by thei weapons were quickly filled with fresh warriors, an the sallying party was obliged to fall back with th loss of two soldiers, who were captured alive and de voted to sacrifice. It was a critical moment, for th enraged horde was about to follow them into th quarters. Just then, as if touched by invisible fire, th powder ignited, sending from the cannon its death dealing missiles, mowing a path through the crowd o pursuers. The Mexicans were appalled and speedil thrown into disorder, of which the Spaniards wer not slow to take advantage. Nor was this the onl

miracle of the day; for it is alleged that the virgin, and he of the dazzling white steed, both appeared fighting on the side of the Spaniards, and bringing defeat and confusion upon their assailants, as at Tabasco and Tlascala.[1]

Thus closed the first day of Alvarado's chivalrous doings, during which a large number were wounded, although there were but six killed,[2] not including allies. A portion of the quarters, with a quantity of ammunition and supplies, had been burned, and a large breach made in the wall. The brigantines were also burned, the bridges raised, and barricades erected in different parts of the city; while the supply of provisions was cut off. Even after darkness had stilled the fury of the warriors the unhappy people remained before the Spanish quarters, and with outstretched arms and dishevelled hair they lifted up their voices, crying, "You are doomed, you vile things! But for your thunder and your fortress walls, curses on them, you would now be killed and cooked. And you shall be, unless you instantly release Montezuma and depart. You shall meet with holy death, and be cooked with *chilmole*, and be given as food to the eagles and the beasts, for your flesh is bitter, as we have found, and not fit for men to eat. Why does not the earth swallow you alive? Oh ye gods! ye gods! unmoved all, all but the devilish gods of these devilish men.

[1] Which speaks little to the credit of either Mary or Santiago. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 102. 'Otro miraglo....é fué muy notorio.' 'Ya sé que los incrédulos....dirán que mi ocupaçion en esto de miraglos, pues no los ví, es supérflua....é yo hablo que esto é más se puede é debe creer;' for did the Indians have mysteries and miracles, surely God, the virgin, and the saints could effect greater deeds. *Oviedo*, iii. 511. He quotes from Livy and others concerning the reliable miracles of Roman times. Prescott and others transfer the miracles to the siege under Cortés for greater effect. Bustamante, the modern champion of the shrines of Mexico, who is ready to uphold any deed attributed to these images, is rather incredulous about miracles recorded in favor of Spanish cutthroats. See *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, i. 283 et seq. 'Si no oviéssemos miedo de esse del caballo blanco, ya vosotros estaríedes coçidos,' cried some, *Oviedo*, iii. 511, while the more valiant added that 'con todo esto si no soltays a Motecçumacin, y os vays luego, presto sereys muertos.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 152.

[2] *Cortés, Cartas*, 127. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 101–2, says seven, two having been taken alive. 'Mataron a Peña, el querido de Motezuma,....Valdibia, y Juan Martin Narizes.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. vii.

Communication was shortly after established between Alvarado and Cortés. Several Tlascaltecs and Cholultecs were despatched by different routes to the coast, and a courier arrived from Cempoala and gained entrance to the fort.[5] Ordering Velazquez and Ordaz to abandon their mission and direct their march to Tlascala, Cortés hastened preparations to join them there. A garrison of one hundred men was left at Villa Rica, under Rodrigo Rangel, a relative of the general,[6] and about thirty men remained at Cempoala to take charge of the sick and wounded, and some baggage, with orders to follow as soon as possible.

The route to the plateau lay partly through a bleak and desert country, and the inhabitants being beside less friendly than before, the army would have found it difficult to obtain supplies; but Cortés had gathered experience from his previous march, and Tlascala was entered in the middle of June.[7] A hearty reception

[5] *Cortés, Cartas*, 126. The Spanish messenger from Mexico returned wounded. *Peter Martyr*, dec. v. cap. v. With him, or about the same time, arrived four chiefs sent by Montezuma to complain that Alvarado had attacked the nobles without cause. While defending themselves six soldiers had fallen. Cortés told the chiefs with stern countenance that he was returning to investigate the matter. A letter was sent to Alvarado enjoining him to guard the emperor closely. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 101.

[6] And the zealous aid of Velazquez de Leon, who did so much toward securing the Goazacoalco command for Cortés when Narvaez sent letters to win it over. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 409; ii. 6, 31, 165–6. He is accused by his enemies of impiety and licentiousness, and as one whom the general favored above more worthy men. Solis assumes that Sandoval nominally retained the command of the coast province, Rangel being merely his lieutenant. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 108.

[7] 'Llegò aquel dia [the first] à la Rinconada, el segundo caminò siete Leguas....legò à Tlaxcalla à diez y seite de Junio.' *Torquemada*, i. 492. Herrera tells a long story of suffering from hunger and thirst during the march through the desert. Marquez and Ojeda were sent ahead to Tlascala for supplies, and came back with 1200 carriers laden with fowl, bread, fruit, and other refreshments. Cortés, among others, was found starving, and a number were discovered on the road almost dead. All, it seems, were rescued. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. vii. There are several reasons for believing that Herrera, who is somewhat confused about this period, has confounded the present march with the flight from Mexico to Tlascala of a month later, when the people were really starving. This seems confirmed by the erroneous statement that the troops arrived at Tlascala July 17th, the time, according to Herrera's own later statement, when they reached that place after the flight. The account also intimates that the starving army was met among the Otomí settlements, where food could readily be obtained,

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It lay upon a triple terrace bathed by the lake, and was surrounded by an immense wall, from fifteen to twenty-five feet high, inclosing two large squares. Within this precinct were the council-chambers, the halls for various arts and sciences, and the royal apartments. The pleasure-grounds, almost hedged by cedars, were filled with shady groves, traversed by labyrinthian paths, and interspersed with well stocked ponds and aviaries, baths, and sparkling fountains. The new palace, which occupied a smaller space, excelled in imposing architecture and in comforts of the most varied character.

Beside these there were a number of summer resorts in the neighborhood, conspicuous among them the fine palace of Tezcocingo, a prototype of Chapultepec, and like it overlooking the capital from a hill, two leagues to the east. An aqueduct of stone supplied two reservoirs on the summit, whence the water was distributed over grounds intersected by canals with meandering currents and picturesque cascades. The palace lay almost hidden within groves of gigantic cedar and cypress, revealing to the rapt beholder pavilions of marble, tessellated pavements, and playing fountains with statuary of unique form.[11]

The Spaniards found none to welcome them, but were allowed unmolested to take up their quarters in the palace. Shortly afterward a canoe arrived from Mexico[12] with an imperial messenger and a Spaniard,[13] bearing the cheering news that everything had been quiet in the capital for some time, and that supplies, which had been scantily furnished only against heavy payments, had now become more liberal. Montezuma sent word that the city would return to its normal

[11] See *Native Races*, ii. 162–3, 168–73, 569; v., passim; *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, 181–3.

[12] Cortés writes that he was on the point of sending a Spaniard to Mexico with Tezcucan rowers, a chief being taken as hostage, but just then came this canoe. *Cartas*, 127.

[13] Two, named Santa Clara and Pedro Hernandez, says Herrera, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. vii.

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from the garrison. Throwing open the gates, the besieged received their deliverers with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy.[17] For greater accommodation a part of the troops were quartered in the great temple adjoining the fort.

The unpleasant aspect of affairs, so apparent during the last days of the march, had ruffled the temper of Cortés, and his treatment of Alvarado was not altogether cordial. Still, as he had ever been a close friend, and as he was an invaluable officer, brave and influential, he deemed it prudent to go no further than to express a curt disapproval of his rashness.[18] Indeed, an inquiry into the causes and results of the massacre could criminate Alvarado no further than the Cholula affair did himself. The captain had acted in full accord with his party, and whatever blame might attach must be shared by all. Dissension would never answer, and so the matter was dropped. But the ill-temper which the general dared not wreak on his own men found a ready object in Montezuma. The conduct of Cortés in this respect was most ungenerous. It shows the several sides of humanity: how odious in some respects are those who appear to the best advantage in other respects. This poor king had a superstitious sympathy, a maudlin affection for the captain, who, considering his own infamous conduct toward him, might at least have

[17] Herrera writes amusingly that Cortés shouted before the closed gates, 'Open!' 'Who is there?' demanded Alvarado. 'I,' replied Cortés. 'Do you come with full liberty, and power to command, as before?' 'Yes, and with victory, and greater forces.' Alvarado thereupon opened, kissed his hand, and surrendered the keys! dec. ii. lib. x. cap. viii.

[18] 'Con que aventuró la mayor parte de sus fuerzas.' *Solis, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 120. Or perhaps because he had not had recourse to some safer measure, such as arresting the leaders of the proposed plot, for hostages. 'Le dixo muy enojado, q̃ era muy mal hecho, y grande desatino, y poca verdad....no le hablò mas en ello.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 102. Cortés would hardly have told him that he lied, since his statements were confirmed by so many; they certainly were years after. Vetancurt supposes that Cortés told him he should have allowed the emperor to attend the festival, and should have awaited the attack rather than opened the war. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 140. 'Dissimulo por no enojar a los que lo hizieron.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 151.

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latter was an implement of great effect with the Aztecs, who could impel the stone with wonderful precision and force. The *maza*, or club, with its knotty head, and the *macana*, or sword, toothed with iztli, were well represented, while high above gleamed the obsidian or copper points of the spear. One of the most dreaded weapons was the *tlacochtli*, or javelin, often provided with three points, and attached to a cord by which it could be recovered for a fresh cast. Conspicuous among the warriors were the nobles, those that were left of them, in lofty quetzal plumage on a head-dress of green feathers set in tiger-skin, or in a gold or silver band, which gave the appearance of metal helmets. The body was covered in corselets of red, green, or yellow feathers, worked with gold, and so arranged as to indicate the company or district to which the wearer belonged. Beneath gleamed occasionally cuirasses of gold or silver. The limbs were covered with wood or leather armor set with feathers or gold plates. A more common body armor was the cotton tunic, one or two fingers in thickness, which extended to the knees and elbows. It was almost equivalent to the quilted cotton protector used on the eastern coast, whose efficiency against native weapons had caused the Spaniards to adopt it. The tunic was adorned with feathers, which corresponded to the uniform in color and arrangement, usually in the form of an animal. Many were distinguished by casques in the form of eagle-heads, and in armor spotted like a tiger-skin, indicative of the two orders of Quauhtin and Ocelome, eagles and tigers. At the head of the different columns appeared officers with small drums, painted and adorned with feathers, with which they directed the march. Beyond, in the centre of the masses, could be seen banners, with devices in various colors and forms, which the Tlascaltecs pointed out as belonging to different wards and to cities on the mainland, a sign that an extensive body of troops had been enlisted for the war.[23]

[23] For war customs see *Native Races*, ii. 400–32.

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The assailants were comparatively safe, for those on the roofs could be picked off only by archers and musketeers, and those below took refuge when pressed, only to return to fresh attack. Efforts were made to fire the houses, but this was slow work, since they were constructed almost wholly of adobe or stone, and were filled with defenders. Nor would the fire spread, owing to the detached form of the buildings, separated by alleys or canals, so that the torch had to be applied to each.

Thus matters continued until Ordaz, who was engaged on the street to the west of the fort, sent word to Cortés, who was pressing forward in the direction of the Iztapalapan causeway, that he was losing ground. Leaving his own forces, the general hurried to the scene with a few horsemen, and heading the charge, drove back the warriors at the most exposed point, so as to relieve the infantry in the retreat which was now found necessary. Returning to his men he found them also retreating, those who headed the column, including Andrés Duero, the Cuban secretary, having been cut down. "Shame upon you!" exclaimed Cortés to the corps, as he led the horsemen to the rescue of the fallen cavaliers. He was just in time to save them, for a moment more and Duero, at least, would have been slain. The elated warriors fell back before the charge of the terrible Malinche, although they soon recovered. Cortés then concluded to retreat, but this proved no less dangerous than the advance, and among others Lezcano was dragged from his horse and killed, after having distinguished himself for bravery and execution. The fort had meanwhile sustained an active siege, and when the retreating corps approached it they found more enemies in waiting, who, fearful of losing their prey, rushed forward with greater fury than ever. An

Cortés also says 'quedé manco,' *Cartas*, 142, 131, yet Cano ridicules the statement, and declares 'nunca fué manco dellos ni le faltan.' *Oviedo*, iii. 551-2.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

FIGHT UPON THE TEMPLE SUMMIT.

JUNE, 1520.

THE NATIVES CONTINUE THE ASSAULT—THEIR FIERCE BRAVERY—THE SPANIARDS BUILD TURRETS—STILL THE MEXICANS PROVE TOO STRONG FOR THEM—MONTEZUMA CALLED TO INTERCEDE—HE IS INSULTED AND STONED BY HIS SUBJECTS—CORTÉS ATTEMPTS EGRESS BY THE TLACOPAN CAUSEWAY—FAILURE OF ESCOBAR TO TAKE THE PYRAMID—CORTÉS GAINS THE SLIPPERY HEIGHT—THE GLADIATORIAL COMBAT THERE.

AT dawn the assault was renewed with the same fierceness as before, and with even less regard for the sweeping volleys of the cannon, which were fired without aim into the packed masses of the natives, bringing them down by the score. The gaps were quickly closed, and the rapidly repeated shots seemed to make no more impression on the surging mass than pebbles dropped into the boiling surf. It was a critical time for Cortés, who seemed not yet to recognize the full extent of the danger. He felt the necessity of open communication with the mainland, for obvious reasons, and to this end, in the course of the morning, he arranged another sortie like that of the preceding day, but in one direction only. The Indians retired, as before, into lanes and buildings, and beyond canals, raising the bridges behind them. Barricades having been thrown up to impede the advance since the last sally, some guns were brought to the front, and with their aid a few of the obstructions were demolished and more than one bridge was gained, together with a number of houses, to which the torch was applied.

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them to this plight. Perceiving, however, that unity of purpose alone could save them, they stifled regrets and showed Cortés that something must immediately be done to stay the onslaught, lest the building fall about their ears. It was exceedingly disagreeable, but it must be done; the proud Spanish general must sue to the greatly injured captive king, pleading for his influence in behalf of peace.[3] Montezuma had all these days been closely confined to his rooms brooding over the insults offered him, and apparently indifferent to the danger from without. When the message was brought he sullenly said, "Why does Malinche address himself to me, who care no longer for life? I will not listen to him, for he it is who has brought me into this plight." He intimated further that the promises of the general could not be relied upon, and that his words carried a double meaning. Olmedo and Olid, who had come to urge the request, had recourse to soothing words and persuasion, and succeeded in mollifying him somewhat.[4] He replied, however, that it was probably too late to appease the Mexicans by promises. "They have now a new leader," he said, "who is resolved to spare no Spaniard, and I believe that you have all to die in this city."[5] Nevertheless he yielded, and as befitted

[3] 'Fue acordado de demandalles pazes para salir de Mexico,....acordò Cortes, que el gran Montecuma les hablasse.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 104. 'Muteczuma....dijo que le sacasen....y que él hablaria á los capitanes.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 129–30. The latter statement may be Herrera's authority for saying that Montezuma was the first to propose speaking to the Mexicans. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. x. Observing Cuitlahuatzin's regal authority over the besieging forces, Montezuma was seized with a fit of jealous alarm for throne and life. 'Chiamò Cortès,....pregandolo instantemente di non differir più la sua partenza.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 124. This implies that the emperor was not aware of the vain efforts made to open communication with the mainland, or even to approach it. Cortés had to urge him in any case to speak to his subjects, an unwelcome task in view of his declining influence and of the merely partial success of the former appeal.

[4] Among other reasons it was represented that Cortés was not to blame for the late massacre. 'Que si la indignacion de los mexicanos podia templarse con el castigo de los culpados....le prometia castigar.' So says the native version of *Tezozomoc, Recop. tradiciones*, MS., cap. vi.; *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, 287–8.

[5] He felt no eagerness to plead in behalf of those who had caused all his misfortunes, and he was only too conscious that his pusillanimity must have

the momentous point at issue, he arrayed himself in the richly bejewelled robes of state, and placed upon his head the mitred *copilli*, beneath whose precious feathers gleamed the golden plate.[6] Carefully guarded he ascended to the roof and stepped to the parapet, preceded by a courtier who bore the triple wand of the empire, as was customary on such occasions. Instantly the tumult was hushed, even before the leaders could issue orders for a stay of hostilities; instantly a thousand heads were bent in humble adoration before the august majesty of their sovereign. This attitude, however, was assumed but for a moment; soon these same heads were held higher than ever. Then the chiefs drew near to listen to the unhappy monarch.

Montezuma had appeared with a feeling of mingled fear and doubt as to what his reception might be, and he did not fail to observe that the accustomed reverence was shown only for an instant, involuntarily, as it were, and that silence was prompted rather by curiosity than respect. The urgency of the moment demanded that he should speak, but it was rather as supplicant than ruler that he turned to his people.

"You are in arms, my children," he said, "in hot battle. Why is this? You will be slain, and there will be heard throughout the land for many years the wail of wives and little ones. You would give me my liberty, and I thank you. You do not turn from me in anger, and I thank you. You have not chosen another king in my stead, and I thank you. Such an act would displease the gods, and bring destruction

degraded him in the eyes of his subjects, while the elevation of his brother to the leadership must have diminished the influence which till then may have remained with him. He could hardly avoid a feeling of jealousy at the thought of this elevation; and if he, during an impulse of anger against Cortés, had counselled the proceedings of Cuitlahuatzin, he now felt probably both grieved and terrified at the storm he had raised. He also harbored a wholesome fear of Malinche, and the prospect of his speedy departure helped to stir anew the embers of hope. All might yet be well: the capital might be spared further desolation, and he again resume his former grandeur.

[6] See description of his first meeting with Cortés, *Native Races*, ii. This appearance of the emperor took place on the 27th of June, as Cortés states, but Bernal Diaz, Herrera, and Ixtlilxochitl place it respectively on the 5th, 6th, and 7th day of the siege.

Startled by the crime they had committed, awe fell upon the multitude as the stricken sovereign was led away. Taking advantage of this feeling Cortés beckoned the chiefs to a parley with a view to explain what Montezuma had intended to convey. He had always wished them well, he said, and felt grieved to wage war for what had occurred during his absence. He desired peace, yet the desire was not prompted by fear, but by consideration for their safety and that of the city. The chiefs replied that the Spaniards must leave the country to the natives, and depart at once. That was exactly what they wished to do, replied Cortés, but they would not be driven away. If the Mexicans desired them to go, they must abandon the siege, tear down the barricade, and retire to their homes; they must likewise restore the bridges and supply provisions. To this the chiefs declined to listen, declaring that they would not lay down their arms so long as there was a Spaniard left on whom to use them.[9] The evident desire of the besieged for peace served only to encourage the In-

Recop. tradiciones, MS., cap. vi. According to Bernal Diaz, the four chiefs who had approached to confer with him expressed their sympathy for his misfortunes. They had now chosen as leader 'Coadlabacan, señor de Iztapalapa,' and had sworn to the gods to continue the war till all Spaniards were exterminated. Yet they prayed daily to the gods for his safety, and if all went well he would more than ever be their lord. They had hardly finished when showers of missiles fell, of which three stones and an arrow hit him, on the head, arm, and leg. *Hist. Verdad.*, 104. 'Remorse succeeded to insult,' and they fled, says Robertson, *Hist. Am.*, 90, a statement which Prescott improves by stating that the square before the fort was left empty. But remorse must have been brief, for the main authorities, Cortés, Gomara, Bernal Diaz, and Torquemada, either declare or intimate that the assault never stopped. 'No por eso cesó la guerra y muy mas recia y muy cruda de cada dia.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 130.

[9] 'Esta Fortaleza casi no tiene exemplar,' exclaims Lorenzana, forgetting that Cortés' firmness was due to the justifiable fear that a trap was intended. *Cortés, Hist. N. España*, 136–7. Cortés concludes the sentence about Montezuma's being wounded by saying that he died within three days. He thereupon resumes the account of parleys and siege operations, leaving the impression that these took place after his death, while such was not the case. Nevertheless, Gomara, Herrera, and others, Bernal Diaz not excluded, are misled, by this vagueness evidently, into extending the siege and confounding the events, so that modern historians have all more or less remained mystified. Solis assumes that during Montezuma's illness the siege was conducted only by straggling parties, the main forces being occupied with crowning the new emperor. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 155–6. This is probably due to a misconstruction of Bernal Diaz.

dians, and the assault was renewed with an increased ardor that taxed the defenders to the utmost.

And now, whatever the cost, a way out of this place must be opened. Cortés knew of three causeways which led to the mainland, the only means of exit for his forces. He knew that they were low and narrow, exposed on both sides to the attacks of canoe fleets, and intersected by a number of bridges which were perhaps by this time raised. Each of these openings was an almost impassable chasm. The southern causeway to Iztapalapan was two leagues in length, and provided with seven drawbridges, besides a strong fortress, which rendered it impassable to an enemy. The northern, leading to Tepeyacac, was one league long, while the shortest, conducting westward to Tlacopan, half a league distant, was broken by only three bridges.[10] Cortés resolved to undertake the passage by this last named causeway. During the night had been completed three mantas, of light framework and planks, each to hold twenty musketeers and archers, with which it was hoped to check the assailants on the roofs. These mantas were built with two chambers, provided with loop-holes; the upper ranged on a level with the house-tops of ordinary one-story buildings of the city, and had doors, so as to allow of sallies upon the roofs.[11]

The following morning, June 28th, Cortés placed himself at the head of five hundred Spaniards and over three thousand allies, and took the direction of the Tlacopan causeway.[12] By a sudden charge the cavalry drove back the Indians and allowed the free passage of the mantas, which were drawn and pushed

[10] 'En esta auia tres no mas, y en la de Yztapalapà, siete.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xi.; *Native Races*, ii. 561 et seq.

[11] *Cortés, Cartas*, 130, 133. 'Quatro ingenios....en que pudiessen yr veynte y cinco hombres,' says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 103. 'Tres mantas....cõ sus ruedas; leuauan treynta hombres a cada vna, cubierta con tablas gruessas de tres dedos.' *Herrera*, loc. cit. Drawn by men within, adds Peter Martyr, dec. v. cap. v. 'Cabia cada vno veynte hombres, con picas escopetas y ballestas y vn tiro.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 154.

[12] Herrera unwisely assumes that the three towers with their forces were respectively directed against the three causeway approaches.

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amid, and although badly wounded in the left hand he immediately led his men to the charge. The Spaniards were making fair progress, when two heavy beams, which had been reserved at the summit for the last extremity, were loosened and sent tumbling down the side, so directed as to sweep to destruction the assailants along its entire length. At about the centre of their terrible passage, full before them, stood Cortés. Immediate death for himself and his brave comrades seemed inevitable, when behold! by some unseen finger the beams were turned end foremost and shot harmlessly through the opening made for them by the soldiers. "Thanks be to God and the virgin, whose image was placed in this tower!" cried Cortés, as without the loss of a moment he sprang forward and speedily gained the summit. There the fight assumed the form of a gladiatorial combat, a hand-to-hand and line-to-line conflict, poised in mid-air on this narrow slippery summit, and in full view of the whole city. As if by common consent the combatants below paused in their bloody work and stood breathless, lost in the more thrilling sight above.

At the eastern end of the platform stood the two three-story chapels, over fifty feet in height, originally dedicated to Huitzilopochtli and Tezcatlipoca. Against this the Indians had massed themselves, fierce in their desperation. The Castilians had taken their stand at the other end. It was an awful situation, dire destruction being inevitable to one side or the other. With nerves and sinews strained to their utmost tension, they stood between attacks regarding each other, regarding every motion, anon picking from the other's number with javelin, dart, or musket, as they were able. It was with difficulty the Spaniards could stand, and there was no railing round the slippery height; but fortune again assisted by unveiling the sun and sending its blinding rays full in the face of the enemy. Every now and then the sol-

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rites, and upon the altar stains from the blackened hands of the temple attendants.[21] In the adjoining chapel the war-god was found reinstalled in all its glittering hideousness. Some consolation for this sacrilegious intrusion was offered to the victors in despoiling it of the rich ornaments, while the cacao and other provisions stored here by the garrison proved a prize to the half-famished Spaniards. The Tlascaltecs, so long deprived of meat, pounced upon the bodies of the slain heroes to secure them for a feast, which should not only satisfy the cravings of hunger, but infuse their hearts and minds with some of the qualities of the valiant dead.[22] The chapels were then fired. The upper portion of the structure being of wood, the flames rose in columns heavenward heralding the triumph of the Spaniard, and striking the Indian with awe. It was a great and thrilling feat, this fight upon the temple top; and so the natives regarded it, their heart, and mind, and paintings being all stained sanguine over its remembrance.[23]

[21] It was related afterward that when the natives first sought to remove the virgin image their hands clove powerlessly to it for some time, and left their marks upon it. *Oviedo*, iii. 510. Montezuma, being told of this miracle, ordered the image to be left in its place. Afterward, 'pareciò, segun supimos, que el gran Monteçuma tenia ó deuocion en ella, ó miedo, y la mandó guardar.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 104, 102. Others, as will be shown, suppose it to have been saved by its owner, Villafuerte, perhaps when Cortés withdrew the troops from the temple, or to have fled by its own miraculous power to the shrine at Remedios.

[22] 'Comierõ de los caualleros Mexicanos muertos.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. ix.

[23] *Cortés, Cartas*, 130–1. According to Bernal Diaz the sally with the engines was directed against the temple, which he appears to place at some distance. It was held by 3000 or 4000 Indians, 'all chiefs,' and cost the Spaniards 46 lives, every man being beside wounded. They returned hard pressed by the enemy. 'Se mostrò Cortes mui varõ, como siẽpre.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 103–4. 'Murieron todos quinientos Indios, como valientes.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 157. 'En trecientos caualleros que alli estauan no quedaron seys viuos.' *Herrera*, loc. cit. This author describes on a later occasion the capture of a tower attached to Montezuma's own palace, from which missiles fell with telling effect. Cortés goes with 200 men to reduce it, and is hotly received; yet the Indians, relying upon the execution to be made by some loose beams which are to be rolled down upon the assailants at a favorable moment, allow the Spaniards to rush forward and gain the tower, putting almost every occupant to the sword. This story is probably a version of the temple fight.

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The imperial party, which had sunk to insignificance since the elevation of Cuitlahuatzin to the leadership, and was now sustained only by a few relatives of Montezuma, had no longer a voice in the direction of affairs. Their efforts to make terms with the Spaniards might have gained public approval, but the ambition of Cuitlahuatzin stood in the way of any compromise. To release the strangers would be to restore Montezuma, and he preferred to occupy the throne himself. He was also covetous of military fame; and knowing the desperate condition of the besieged, he hoped by their reduction to add to his record of glorious achievements.[1]

The soldiers felt the peril of their position more than the general. They had been cheered for a moment by victory, only to find how barren it was; only to realize that many such triumphs would prove their ruin. In order to counteract this growing despondency, Cortés resolved on a night sally with half his force. The Indians being unprepared for this, the party advanced with comparative impunity, destroyed several barricades, and fired a large number of houses along the Tlacopan road, where the roof assault had been so severe. The warriors having finally gathered in sufficient force to render retreat advisable, the Spaniards destroyed a number of buildings in the vicinity of their quarters before entering, and thus secured additional immunity.[2]

The present purpose of the Spaniards was to open an exit from the city. At a council, called to con-

[1] In *Manuscrit de 1528, Aubin, Col.*, Cihuacohuatl and Tzihuacpopocatzin, brothers of Montezuma, are named as the leaders of the opposition party, connected also with the followers of Quetzalcoatl, who abhorred the cruel rites of the Aztecs. They succeeded, it is said, in introducing provisions for the besieged. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 317–18. But this is doubtful.

[2] This is probably the sally which Herrera intrusts to Salcedo. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. viii.

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Montezuma the while lay a-dying, prostrate a-dying, not as Vespasian would have an emperor die—standing; but with manhood, and the aspirations of man, ay, even the regrets and remorse incident to foiled endeavor, all crushed he was killed when the insults of his people fell upon him; he scarcely heeded their darts and stones.

It is not necessary always that breath shall cease before one can be dead. From Ianthe's spirit fell the shackles of sense, the body being left with its animal life, but soulless. And though corporal life was yet present in Montezuma, the soul was already free: the accursed aliens had done their worst. When the might of sacred sovereignty was extinguished, the remains were less than man, though they walked, and talked, and wept.

Compared with his present condition, how dignified and happy death would have been by the hands of his brother priests, before the gods, in the eyes of the nation, on the sacred sacrificial stone! Or, like that among the Massagetæ, told of by Herodotus, who sacrificed and ate their old people, holding natural death a misfortune—even this or any other stepping down and out would have been preferable to thus dying like a silly hare in a trap!

He refused food and any attention to the wounds, which were far from fatal. He tore off the bandages, threw from him all medicines, and bared his body to disease, even as his soul had been long since bared, and stretched out his hand to hasten the cold stony grasp of death. What a farce was life, and honor, and majesty, all to end in poverty and disgrace! Feeling the all-changing moment at hand, he summoned Cortés; for despite his long maltreatment he entertained a kind of affection for the monster, who might even yet prove to be the demi-god of some far away incomprehensible world. Moreover, the Spaniard's intellect and arm were the stronger; he was his son-in-law and probable successor; therefore, though his jailer, he would speak

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this heaven of yours?" "Assuredly," was the reply; "it was made for them, and is held by Christians, against all others, as the reward of their pure belief and gentle deeds." "It is enough; I will none of it," said Montezuma, who from that moment would not listen to a word of Christian exhortation.[6] It was early in the morning of the 30th of June,[7] three days

[6] The question of his conversion has been much discussed. 'No le pudo atraer a que se bolviesse Cristiano,' says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 105; and Herrera is even more explicit. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. x. Cortés and his followers, Martyr and Oviedo, give no indications to the contrary. Ixtlilxochitl states, however, that he had learned several prayers, and even begged for baptism, but that the rite was deferred 'por la pascua siguiente, que era de la resurreccion, y fue tan desdichado, que nunca alcanzó tanto bien.' *Hist. Chich.*, 299. Yet he adds that it has been said 'que se bautizó y se llamó Don Juan.' *Relaciones*, 457. According to Gomara he asked for baptism in the beginning of lent, but it was determined to postpone the rite till pentecost, for greater effect, and as more appropriate for so high a personage. Owing to the troubles arising out of Narvaez' arrival nothing was done then, 'y despues de herido oluido se con la prissa del pelear!' *Hist. Mex.*, 154. Cortés had persuaded him, says Vetancurt, during the early days of his imprisonment, to accept baptism, and he was taken to the temple for the purpose, but at the last moment he excused himself on the ground that the Indians would elect another lord and attack them all if he abandoned the faith. *Teatro Mex.*, iii. 132–3. Father Duran, on the contrary, ever zealous for the natives, and particularly for his hero, Montezuma, asserts that trustworthy men had vouched for his baptism. Padre Olmedo had also expressed belief therein, although he had not been present when it was administered. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 445. The father's memory must have failed him with respect to Olmedo. Camargo has also been assured of his baptism, with Cortés and Alvarado for sponsors. *Hist. Tlax.*, 166. Tezozomoc, who claims to have investigated the point, declares explicitly that the rite was administered on his death-bed, when he received the name of Cárlos, and that Cortés, Olid, and Alvarado were the sponsors. *Recopilacion de verídicas tradiciones, probando que el emperador Moteuhsoma recibió el santo sacramento del bautismo.* This author wrote at the close of the sixteenth century, and follows traditions only. Bustamante, in modern times, has also reviewed the question, and follows Tezozomoc implicitly. In support thereof he quotes a poem, by Captain Angel Betancourt, wherein he refers to Montezuma as the 'indio *bautizado*,' introduces the vague utterance of Ixtlilxochitl, and even attempts to misconstrue a certain expression of Cortés. Montezuma tells the latter to baptize his daughters, and this Bustamante regards as proof that he himself desired the rite. He does not suppose that the religion of the vicious Spaniards could have had great attractions for him, but when about to die he accepted it, 'as the drowning man does the saving plank.' Article in *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, i. 287–95. Still fuller is the review of Ramirez, who follows Torquemada in pointing out the fact that neither Cortés nor Alvarado ever referred to their supposed sponsorship, as they certainly would have done in connection with so distinguished a personage had they felt empowered. *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin.*

[7] Cortés' chronology, as indicated in the *Cartas*, shows clearly that he left Mexico during the night of June 30th, as will be demonstrated. He also implies what Bernal Diaz and Herrera distinctly assert, that considerable fighting took place on the Tlacopan road between the time the corpse was surrendered to the Aztecs and the Spaniards returned to their quarters preparatory to evacuation. Hence the death must have occurred early on that

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cold-blooded cruelty and superstition, not as a tyrant, however, but as an administrator of their own cruel yet revered rites. He was reputed just, but this quality was to be found rather in the intention than in the act. With all his pride he appears to have been most affable and kind to those with whom he came in contact. The Spaniards certainly found him so. In their later intercourse other considerations may have ruled him, however, and with the cunning and secrecy of his race he may have submitted to the inevitable demands of circumstances.[10]

Surrounded by fawning ministers, whose existence depended on his favor, he was encouraged in the extravagant habits of a magnificent court, which promoted their schemes at the expense of a tax-ridden people. The ambition to extend his fame and power required the maintenance of immense armies, of numerous garrisons, and of costly campaigns, which proved another drain on the people. This was augmented in subjected provinces by the extortions of imperial officers, who found means to prevent the cry of the oppressed from reaching the throne. Perhaps the most terrible infliction was the levy on the youth of both sexes for slaves, and for sacrificial victims to appease the bloody appetite of Aztec gods—an appetite which had increased in horror with the abject superstition of this otherwise enlightened monarch. Enlightened he undoubtedly was, for as high-priest he had become versed in the higher learning of the priesthood. The study of mythology came naturally to him, while astronomy and natural history were favorite subjects with the lords of the lake peoples, the former connected with myths and divinations, the latter illustrated by specimens from different regions, and col-

[10] 'Antes ni despues huvo en este mundo quien le igualase en magestad y profanidad.... fuemuy justiciero.... decondicion muysevero, aunque cuerdo y gracioso.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 301. 'Dizen los Indios que fue el mejor de su linaje, y el mayor rey de Mexico.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 155. 'Fu circospetto, magnifico, liberale.... sua giustizia degenerava in crudeltà.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 132; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. x.; *Torquemada*, i. 499–500.

lected in the botanic and zoölogic gardens of Mexico and other cities. The studies of his youth had gained for him a well merited respect from his priestly confrères, and the prudence and sagacity which controlled the well stored mind commanded attention in the council.[11] While yet a young man there seemed to develop qualities which fitted him for the position of high-priest, also as counsellor, to which his princely rank paved an easy way. Besides this he had shown himself possessed of great courage, and had established his fame as a general by many victories.

It was with this reputation, as zealous and learned priest, prudent statesman, and brave soldier, that he ascended the throne in 1503, while only twenty-three years of age. It is in such terms that his colleague Nezahualpilli in his coronation address refers to the hopes entertained of the youthful ruler.[12] Though ever a devout servant of the gods, the effeminate pleasures of the court weakened the nerves and energy of the soldier, till his warlike ardor survived only in a taste for military reviews and for the chase. The caution of the general remained, but timidity saves few leaders from disaster. Vanity and designing ministers overruled too often the dictates of wisdom in the administration of affairs.[13] His path had been prepared by able predecessors, and answered well for the policy of aggrandizement which became the leading feature of his reign. In this his natural liberality and talent for intrigue, fostered by priestly training, served him well and procured blindly devoted instruments for his plans. Thus, by fair means and foul, the empire was raised to the pinnacle of its glory, but not being of a natural or healthy growth it proved unstable, and crumbling under the strong commotion

[11] 'Fue muy sabio, pues passaua por las cosas assi, o muy necio q̃ no las sentia.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 155. 'El hombre mas sábio de su siglo,' is Bustamante's interpretation. He also discovers that Montezuma objected to sacrifices! *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, 292–3.

[12] See *Native Races*, ii. 149–50.

[13] 'Pareva aver cangiato di sesso, siccome dicevano i suoi sudditi.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 132.

created by the approach of Castilians, it revived only for a moment in the present uprising like the mental illumination preceding death. Montezuma could not have failed to recognize the insecurity of the bonds which held it, and influenced by the predictions of its downfall he readily fell beneath the spell of the superior intellects which were to assume control. It was his misfortune to have lost the sanguine energy of his youth, which might have enabled him to rise above the weaknesses of himself and his age. Duty and honor were overcome by superstition and absorbing love of power, of life, and he reaped the natural fruit of puerile and misdirected efforts by losing both. Resistance might not long have delayed the inevitable, but it would at least have procured for him an end worthy of his grandeur.

Of his many wives may be named the princesses Teitlalco, Acatlan, and Miahuaxochitl, of whom the first named appears to have been the only legitimate consort.[14] By her he left a son, Asupacaci, who fell during the *noche triste*, and a daughter, Tecuichpo, baptized as Isabel, married consecutively to Quauhtemotzin, the last Mexican sovereign, to visitador general Alonso Grado, to Pedro Andrade Gallego, and to Juan Cano de Saavedra. She had children by the latter two, from whom descend the illustrious families of Andrade-Montezuma and Cano-Montezuma.

By the Princess Acatlan were left two daughters, baptized as María and Mariana. The latter alone left offspring, from whom descends the Sotelo-Montezuma family. By the third wife came to the emperor the son Tlacahuepantzin, known after baptism as Pedro Yohualicahuacatzin Montezuma, whose descendants, the condes de Montezuma y de Tula, intermarried with the noblest families of Spain, and

[14] So Cano, the son-in-law, declares, *Oviedo*, iii. 549, and so Cortés intimates in the *privilegio* to Isabel, whom he calls 'su legitima heredera,' especially commended to him.

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six books, bearing a separate imprint under 1588, though published only in connection with the previous two books, treats entirely of the method and progress of Indian conversion. The *Natura* was translated into Spanish, and incorporated, with some amendments, in the *Historia Natvral y moral de las Indias*, Sevilla, 1590, dedicated to Infanta Isabel, which treats also of Indian history and customs, and refers briefly to the conquest. The work achieved great success, and was reproduced in numerous editions, in nearly every language, though often without Acosta's name, and in distorted form, as in De Bry and some German versions. This may not be considered bad treatment by those who charge Acosta with plagiarism, although he frankly admits following a number of authors, among them 'es vno Polo Ondegardo, aquien communmente sigo en las cosas de el Piru: y en las materias de Mexico Ioan de Touar prebendado que fue de la Iglesia de Mexico, y agora es religioso de nuestra Compañia de Iesvs. El qual por orden del Virrey hizo dõ Martin Enriquez diligẽte, y copiosa auerigaciõ de las historias antiguas.' See p. 396. There is no doubt that the interest and value of the work are owing chiefly to the circumstance that the original authorities have remained sealed, until lately at least; for, despite its pretentious aim, the pages are marred by frequent indications of the then prevalent superstition and credulity. The *Procvrando Indorvm Salvte* is more in consonance with the character of the Jesuit missionary and scholastic.

Born at Medina del Campo about 1539, he had in his fourteenth year joined the Society, to which four brothers already belonged. After studying and teaching theology at Ocana, he proceeded in 1571 to Peru, where he became the second provincial of his order. Returning to Spain seventeen years later—'post annos in Peruano regno exactos quindeciem, in Mexicano & Insularibus duos,' says the dedication of 1588 to Philip II., in *De Natvra* of 1589—he gained the favor of the king, occupied the offices of visitador and superior, and died as rector at Salamanca, February 15, 1600. Several other works, in print and manuscript, chiefly theologic, are attributed to him—see *Camus*, 104–13—among them *De la criança de Cyro*, dedicated to Filipe III. in 1592, which was also a borrowed text, from Xenophon, and remained a manuscript in the Royal Library.

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It is interesting to note the manœuvring on both sides over the dead monarch, who having ministered so faithfully to his enemies while living, must needs continue in the service after death. The hostile chiefs were called and informed of the sad conse-

made himself particularly obnoxious to the Spaniards, was killed with 47 stabs before the fort was evacuated. *Hist. Chich.*, 301. A more severe account is found in a manuscript fragment in Ramirez' collection, written by a Tezcucan, wherein it is related that a sword was thrust into the intestines, 'por la parte baxa.' The body was thereupon taken to the roof, as if to address the people. A stone struck the head, and now the Spaniards proclaimed that this had caused the death. *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, *Boletin*, x. 362. This is substantially repeated in *Ixtlilxochitl*, *Rel.*, 457. A stronger testimony, however, comes from Sahagun, who states that Cortés recommended to his followers the murder of the prisoners in order to terrify the natives and to assume the mastery. 'Y lo primero que hicieron, fue dàr Garrote à Motecuhçuma, y à Itzquauhtzin, Señor de Tlatelolco, y à otros.' Version in *Torquemada*, i. 498, and in *Sahagun*, *Hist. Conq.* [ed. 1840], 113. The issue, modified by the censor, merely states that the bodies were found near a stone, Teoaioc, outside the fort. *Id.* [ed. 1829], 31. This account has received its chief support in the *quasi* admission of Torquemada; and when he, the otherwise zealous champion of the conquerors, takes such a view, others may be pardoned for accepting it. 'Y que esto aia sido asi, puede ser posible, pues para tenerse por seguros, le avian prendido; y viendo agora, que no bastaba la prision, vsarian de este vltimo medio, para vèr si le aplacaban, y atemoriçaban estos Mexicanos.' i. 498–9. Brasseur de Bourbourg accepts the version, and adds that Montezuma was told of his fate and urged to accept baptism. 'On répandit aussitôt la nouvelle de sa mort comme s'il eût expiré naturellement.' Hence even the soldiers did not know of the murder. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 330–1. Bustamante, of course, adopts anything Sahagun may say against the Spaniards; and Carbajal takes Torquemada's view. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 375, as does Beltrami, eager for any sensation. *Mex.*, ii. 145. Vetancurt seeks to reconcile conflicting opinions by assuming that when Montezuma died Itzquauhtzin and several other prisoners were murdered and cast out together with the emperor's body, in order to terrify the Mexicans and occupy their attention while the Spaniards hurried away. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 142. 'Io non posso persuadermi,' says Clavigero, 'che gli Spagnuoli si risolvessero a toglier la vita ad un Re, a cui doveano tanti beni, e dalla cui morte non potevano aspettarsi, se non molti mali.' *Storia Mess.*, iii. 131. Solis cannot believe Cortés guilty of an act so bad and reckless. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 150–1. Prescott disposes of the charge as an 'absurdity' and a 'monstrous imputation.' *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 321. It must be considered, however, that the Spaniards did seek to profit by the death; and scruples about 'killing a dog of an Indian,' as they had so lately termed him, could not have weighed with such men when their interests were concerned; how much less when their lives were at stake? The whole argument, then, may be said to depend on the question whether Montezuma was more valuable as captive or as corpse. If the people manifested little respect for the living ruler, the Spaniards could have had no reason to expect more for the dead. His death would only have loosened the bond which still restrained a vast number, whether of kindred or of mere subjects, and given the hostile leaders fresh motives and strength for their operations. Besides, Montezuma must have retained a great influence outside the city, which a fugitive army would have found of service. The recognition of this influence is shown by the efforts made to save the imperial children, as noticed even by the most rabid accusers of the Spaniards. It may be mentioned that no charge is brought forward in the residencias either against Cortés or Alvarado.

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Long since it had been agreed among the Spaniards that the city must be evacuated; time and method were the only questions. The former of these was now resolved on by the council: it should be this very night. It was safer to meet the issue now than later. The enemy was hourly reinforced. Perilous indeed was the undertaking to pass with luggage, war stores, prisoners, and women over the broken causeway in the darkness; but to remain was death. Botello, the astrologer, had declared for this time, and so it was determined. For Botello was wise and prudent, knowing Latin and the stars; he had foretold the greatness of Cortés, and had recommended his night attack on Narvaez, and general and soldiers believed in him.[10] Had he lived a century or two later his words might have been employed as the *vox stellarum* by the almanac makers. The Mexicans had said that they would make it a time of sore distress, any attempted escape of the intruders, a time when men must struggle, and women would pray and weep; and if so, it were no worse for the fugitives that black night should fling her mantle over the bloody scene. Since the Indians were supposed to have destroyed the crossing at the causeway channels, a portable

day of evacuating Mexico, and the day following the surrender of Montezuma's body. Herrera, who is far more confused, has a sally on this day in three directions, one being the Tlacopan road; but the operations on the latter route are only partially told, and the rest referred to the third day of the siege. There are also several contradictions to aid in confusing the many who follow him. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xi. Prescott abandons himself to the guidance of Clavigero for the occurrences of these days, but embellishes the narrative with some incidents belonging to the siege of Alvarado.

[10] 'Botello . . . afirmò que . . . supiessen que moriria el o su hermano, y algunos de la cõpañia, y qui se saluaria el Capitan, y otros muchos, y ninguno si salian de dia.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xi. 'Hora lo creyesen, hora no.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 159. 'Anteponendo le vane osservazioni di quel meschino Soldato alla luce della prudenza militare,' is the indignant comment of Clavigero, *Storia Mess.*, iii. 135. But there is no doubt that 'military prudence' had more weight in the matter than Botello's words, and that the result was not due to his advice. Solis casts the blame of crediting the 'ignorant charlatan' Botello chiefly on the majority of the council, to whom Cortés yielded. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 171-2. In order to lull any suspicions among the Mexicans, says Bernal Diaz, a leading priest and some other captives were sent to the Mexican camp with a proposal to surrender all the gold if the Spaniards were allowed to leave in peace eight days later. *Hist. Verdad.*, 105.

bridge was made with which to effect the passage. Two more would probably have been made had time and convenience permitted, but misfortune willed it otherwise. It was agreed that a large portion of the effects must be left behind in order not to encumber the march, but the gold demanded special care. The royal officials, Mejía and Ávila, were charged to secure it, and for this purpose a number of carriers were assigned, the general giving also one of his own mares. Their convoy was intrusted to a body of infantry, under Alonso de Escobar.[11] The secretary, Hernandez, and the royal notaries were called to testify that all had been done that was possible. There still remained a large quantity of the bulky jewels belonging to the king, besides a mass of unappropriated treasure, which could not be intrusted to carriers, or for which no carriers were found, and rather than leave them to the 'Indian dogs' Cortés announced that the soldiers might take all they wished—after permitting his favorites the first selection. He warned them, however, that the more they took the more their safety would be endangered. The adherents of Cortés do not appear to have been eager to encumber themselves, and Bernal Diaz shared this prudence in taking only four chalchiuite stones. The men of Narvaez practised less restraint, and many loaded themselves with the metal. Cortés was afterward charged with having appropriated a considerable share of the wealth thus thrown open; he certainly had funds with which to send for horses, war material, and supplies.[12]

[11] *Lejalde, Segunda Prob.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 424. For carrying the royal treasures 'les dió siete cauallos heridos, y cojos, y vna yegua, y muchos Indios Tlascaltecas, que segun dixeron, fueron mas de ochenta.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 106.

[12] Bernal Diaz, for instance, states that he had hardly taken the four chalchiuites for his share, from a collection in a mat, when Cortés gave orders to his mayordomo to secure it. loc. cit. His penchant for appropriating large shares to himself is well known. Greed of gold was not now his motive, however, but rather a prudential care to secure means for his plans, and he could hardly neglect them when taking so great care of the royal portion. Martyr, Gomara, and Herrera estimate the treasure at 700,000 ducats, chiefly in bulky jewels according to Gomara. Bernal Diaz reckons in pesos, which may mean pesos de oro. Peter Martyr assumes it to have been the general fund,

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reach the Tlacopan road.[18] The streets are wholly deserted. All is quiet, save the dull rumble of tramping soldiers. The blessed rain, or some supernatural interposition, seems to keep the whole city within doors. And if this kind power will but have patience and not desert them for one brief hour—ah, it is so easy for Omnipotence to help! Along the road like a phantom the army moves. The van picks up the guard at the canal crossings. The causeway is almost reached. Already they begin to breathe freer; a feeling of intense relief steals into their breasts, and—Mother of God! what noise is that? It is the piercing outcry of a woman[19]—may the foul fiend seize her!—breaking upon the stillness like a warning note from the watch-tower of Avernus. On the instant the war-drum of the Tlatelulco temple sends forth its doleful sound, chilling the fugitives to the very heart's core. Quickly its tones are drowned by the nearer, shriller trumpet-blasts and shouts of warriors, echoed and reëchoed from every quarter.

Meanwhile the advance column had reached the sixth bridge crossing,[20] the first to connect with the causeway, and had obliged the Mexican picket to retire, after exchanging a few shots. The portable bridge was here laid, and the van crossed with quickened steps, followed by the centre with the baggage and artillery. At this juncture the enemy fell upon the rear, rending the air with their yells, send-

[18] The ravaging sallies of the preceding days, which had involved the destruction of houses in the vicinity and along the approaches to Tlacopan, had evidently obliged the enemy to retire from these streets and seek shelter elsewhere for the night. Oviedo assumes that Cortés led the way, but Diaz and Herrera let him advance only when the first troops are guided into Tlacopan.

[19] 'Pasaron cuatro acequias, y antes que pasasen las demas salió vna muger á tomar agua y viólos.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 32. 'A devil, without doubt,' adds Camargo, who describes her as a keeper of an eating-house, and indicates exactly the location of her house. *Hist. Tlax.*, 167. Cortés states that the alarm was given by the guard at the first breach held by the Mexicans, where the portable bridge was laid down. *Cartas*, 136.

[20] Sahagun names this Mictlantonco, and the next two Tlantecayocan and Petlacalco. In another place he names the first Tecpantzinco, and the second or third Tolteacali. *Hist. Conq.*, loc. cit., and [ed. 1840] 121–2. Torquemada gives the second breach of the causeway the latter name. The names should probably be written Tecpantzinco, Tolteca-Acalulco, and Petlacalco.

ing their missiles fast and furious, while from the cross-roads issued a swarm, with lance and sword, on Alvarado's flank. Over the water resounded their cries, and canoes came crowding round the causeway to attack the forward ranks. To add to the horrors of the tumult, several men and horses slipped on the wet bridge and fell into the water; others, midst heart-rending cries, were crowded over the edge by those behind. All the rest succeeded in crossing, however, except about one hundred soldiers. These, it is said, bewildered by the battle cries and death shrieks, turned back to the fort, and there held out for three days, till hunger forced them to surrender and meet the fate of sacrificial victims at the coronation feast of Cuitlahuatzin.[21]

The half mile of causeway extending between the first and second breaches was now completely filled with Spaniards and allies, whose flanks were harassed by the forces brought forward in canoes on either side. Dark and foggy as the night was, the outline of the Indian crews could be distinguished by the white and colored *tilmatli* in which many of them were clad, owing to the coldness of the air. Fearlessly they jumped to the banks, and fought the Spaniards with lance and javelin, retreating into the water the moment the charge was over. Some crept up the road sides, and seizing the legs of the fugitives endeavored to drag them into the water. So crowded were the soldiers that they could scarcely defend themselves; aggressive movements were out of the question.

Repeated orders had been transmitted to Magarino to hurry forward the removal of his bridge to the second channel, and, seeing no more soldiers on the opposite bank of the first opening, he prepared to

[21] This native rumor, as recorded in the manuscripts used by Duran, *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 476–7, is probably the foundation for Cano's statement, that Cortés abandoned 270 men in the fort. Herrera reduces them to 100. 'Que se boluieron a la torre del templo, adonde se hizieron fuertes tres dias.' dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xii.

horrible of all, drawn in by dusky boatmen, who carefully guarded them for the dread stone of sacrifice.

With five horsemen Cortés led a body of one hundred infantry to the mainland. Accompanying this force was a number of carriers with treasures secured by the general and his friends. Leaving the gold in charge of Jaramillo, with orders to hold the entrance of the causeway against assailants from the shore, Cortés returned to the channel where Sandoval had taken a stand to keep clear the bank and protect the passage. Tidings coming that Alvarado was in danger, Cortés proceeded to the rear, beyond the second channel, and found it hotly contested. His opportune arrival infused fresh courage, as with gallant charges he relieved the troops from the terrible pressure. He looked in vain for many comrades who had been placed at this post, and would have gone in search of them had not Alvarado assured him that all the living were there. He was told that the guns reserved for the rear had for a while been directed with sweeping effect against the ever growing masses of warriors around them; but finally a simultaneous attack from the canoe crews on either side, and from the land forces to the rear, impelled by their own volume, had overwhelmed the narrow columns nearest the city, together with their cannon, killing and capturing a large number, and throwing the rest into the panic-stricken condition from which he had just extricated them.

Leaving Alvarado to cover the rear as best he could, Cortés hastened to direct the passage of the middle channel. What a sight was there! Of all the bloody terrors of that dark, sorrowful night, this was the most terrible! A bridge had been wanting, and behold, the bridge was there! With dead and living fugitives the chasm on either side the slippery beam had been filled,[24] and now the soldiers and allies

[24] 'El foso se hinchó hasta arriba;.... y los de la retroguardia pasaron sobre los muertos. Los españoles que aquí quedaron muertos fueron trescientos, y de los tlaxcaltecas y otros indios amigos fueron mas de dos mil.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 122.

brave soldiers given over to despair, so many ears deaf to commands and prudent counsel. Unable to do more at the channels, he hastened to look to those who had crossed and were proceeding in straggling bands to join Jaramillo. Heedless of companies or officers, the soldiers had banded in parties of a score or two, and sword in hand, where this had not been thrown away, they were hurrying down the causeway.[27] The assailants fell off somewhat beyond the last channel, and finding the advance comparatively safe, guided by his soldierly impulses Cortés again returned with a few horsemen[28] and foot-soldiers to cover the remnant of the army. The rear, composed chiefly of the Narvaez party, were approaching the last channel, but under the continued onslaught panic had seized them. They made hardly an effort to defend themselves, and like the Indians during the massacre by Alvarado they huddled one against the other, offering their backs as a target for unsparing attack. Among this number was the loyal and noble Velazquez de Leon, who shared with the Tonatiuh the command of this section. How he fell is not known, but he never crossed the last breach.[29]

Alvarado had been wounded and had lost his horse, in common with most of his party. Finding it impossible to control the men, he gathered a small band round him and sought the channel, leaving the rest to look to themselves.[30] On reaching the spot he saw

[27] Bernal Diaz formed one of a band of 50, who were repeatedly attacked with arms and midst insults. He quotes some of the low expressions used. *Hist. Verdad.*, 106.

[28] One authority states that Cortés was nearing Tlacopan, when Olid and others called out to him that the fugitives were accusing the captains of abandoning them, and urged that they should turn back. 'It is a miracle to have escaped,' was his reply, 'and fewer will be left if we return.' Saying this he headed a dozen horsemen and a few foot-soldiers and galloped back. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 106. But Cortés was not the man to wait in such a case till entreaty came. 'Yo con tres ó cuatro de caballo,' he says, 'y hasta veinte peones, que osaron quedar conmigo, me fuí en la rezaga.' *Cartas*, 135. He takes the palm from all American conquerors, exclaims Oviedo, iii. 326.

[29] Zamacois makes atonement for a lack of research by inventing doughty deeds for this hero. *Hist. Méj.*, iii. 417–18.

[30] Among the soldiers contributed in later times by Garay's expedition was one Ocampo, who, fond of scandal and pasquinades, libelled many of the

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and a small village. This appeared an eligible spot for the rest which they so much needed. Crossing the Tepzolac Creek, at its foot, Cortés ordered the advance guard, under Ordaz, to capture it, while he faced the pursuers. Little resistance was offered at the temple, but the general was hotly pressed, as the enemy perceived that their prey was about to escape. At this juncture it was said that the Vírgen de los Remedios appeared, and by casting dust into the eyes of the foe enabled the Spaniards to effect their escape with little loss into the temple. "By this time," writes Cortés, "we had not a horse that could run, or a horseman who could lift an arm, or a foot-soldier who could move."[9]

A few additional intrenchments were thrown up, and the necessary guards posted to watch the baffled enemy, who perceiving the strength of the place contented themselves with flinging their missiles and filling the air with shouts. Feeling comparatively secure, the troops abandoned themselves to rest round blazing fires. The food found in the place, although insufficient for the demands of the half-starved men, afforded some comfort, which was increased by grateful sleep.[10]

Thus were refreshed the wounded and disheartened. And with grateful hearts the remnant of the brave army returned thanks to God for deliverance. Some, however, attributed their escape to the presence among them of the image of the Vírgen de los Reme-

Otoncapulco name is misapplied. Hence it may be assumed that the common application of Otoncapulco to this hill is due to a misinterpretation of Sahagun's versions, which have been greatly tampered with, for that matter, and that the ruins mentioned by Lorenzana had disappeared by the time Alzate examined the place.

[9] *Cartas*, 136; *Cabrera*, *Escudo Armas*, 110. 'Aqui se señalò mucho Gonçalo Dominguez, hombre diestro y valiente.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xii. Prescott makes several blunders and omissions in connection with this day.

[10] A few stragglers managed to reach the camp, and among them one Sopuerta, who had escaped death by feigning it. *Herrera*, ubi sup. Sahagun states that Otomís from Teucalhuican, and from the immediate neighborhood, no doubt, brought food, and invited the Spaniards to the former town, a few leagues from there. *Hist. Conq.*, 33. Torquemada follows him, but the story is probably an exaggeration.

dios, which Rodriguez de Villafuerte is said to have afterward placed in the great temple of Mexico. It had been brought here by the owner, although some supposed it might have come over of its own accord, as it is said to have miraculously done in later times when detained in Mexico against its will.[11] Some years after the Noche Triste it was found on this hill under a bush, by a converted cacique named Juan de Tobar, who kept it for a long time, and then by divine direction built a hermitage for it on the hill, where it had been found. The many miracles reported of the shrine induced the City of Mexico in 1574 to adopt it as a patron, and by the following year the simple chapel was replaced by a fine temple worthy of the sanctity of the image which has absorbed so large a share of holy pilgrimage.[12]

The review held on Remedios Hill revealed the full extent of the blow suffered, "one which Spaniards alone could have endured," says Peter Martyr. At the beginning of the siege the army mustered twelve hundred and fifty Spaniards and six thousand allies, with arms and ammunition in abundance, and now

[11] It has been shown previously, by testimony not accessible till later years, that the image placed in the great temple was a picture on a tablet, while that of Remedios is a doll. But, of course, the image that could move through the air could also transform its shape. Bernal Diaz assumes, as we have seen, that Montezuma had ordered the image to be cared for; yet many believe that Rodriguez secured it before or after the massacre, while the more pious prefer to suppose that he could not find it, for want of time, perhaps, and that it moved miraculously to the camp. *Acosta, Hist. Ind.*, 524; *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 302. After the departure of the troops the image hid itself on the spot, or Rodriguez, tired of the burden which had saved his life, ungratefully left it there. It is also supposed to have been carried to Tlascala ere it reappeared on its later site. *Cabrera, Escudo Armas*, 106 et seq.; *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 122. Lorenzana accepts it as the image from Mexico's temple. *Cortés, Hist. N. España*, 138.

[12] It has frequently been brought to Mexico, and is still brought to avert epidemics and other ills, to bring rain or other blessings. When detained it would travel back of its own accord to the shrine, a proof of which was afforded by the travel stains on the dress. One rainy night it arrived covered with mud. *Latrobe's Rambler*, 133. Thompson describes it as 'a little alabaster doll, with the nose broken, and the eye out....about eight inches high.' Her wardrobe and jewels are valued at over $1,000,000. *Recollections*, 103–9. He gives an account of the veneration for the image and its miraculous power. The history of its origin and worship is to be found in a multitude of books, among which may be mentioned, *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego Mex.*, 30 et seq.; *Cabrera, Escudo Armas*, 106 et seq.; *Bustamante, Mem. Piedad., Mex.*, 1–52.

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among its number the dashing Láres[17] and the brave Morla. Neither could Botello be injured by the curses freely given him for his false reading of the stars.[18] The death which most deeply moved Cortés, however, was that of the true-hearted and brave Velazquez, whose standing and influence, as a relative of the Cuban governor and as a man of high birth, had so greatly assisted the general in carrying out his schemes. Cortés had in return conferred on him some of the most important commissions, ever regarding him as among the truest of his friends. With him had died his native wife, Elvira, the daughter of the Tlascaltec lord Maxixcatzin, and nearly every prisoner.[19]

With so many losses to deplore, it proved a solace for Cortés to find present his favorite captains, Sandoval, Alvarado, and Olid. His interpreters were also here, and foremost the loving Marina, whose life, together with that of Luisa, Xicotencatl's daughter, was due to the zealous care of the latter's brothers. Martin Lopez, the ship-builder, also survived, and the sight of him assisted to give the thoughts of the general a hopeful bent, rousing in his enterprising spirit projects for vengeance and recuperation. Remnants though they were, his forces were still larger than those with which he had overcome Narvaez, and which he had till then regarded as sufficient for the conquest of the empire. The experience gained and a knowledge of the country were in themselves an army; and, thank fortune, he had some gold, and better still, allies. Tlascala was now his hope. Everything, indeed, depended on the little republic, and

[17] On a later page Bernal Diaz says he fell at Otumba. *Hist. Verdad.*, 107, 246.

[18] Herrera attempts to save somewhat the reputation of the astrologer by the statement that he prophesied death for himself or his brother.

[19] Every one, say Cortés and Herrera; but Ixtlilxochitl states that one sister of King Cacama was saved, and he intimates that one or two of his brothers also escaped. He is contradictory, however. *Hist. Chich.*, 302, 390. The one who escaped must have been Cuicuitzcatl, the newly made king of Tezcuco. Brasseur de Bourbourg adds two of his brothers, probably from misinterpreting Ixtlilxochitl. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 339.

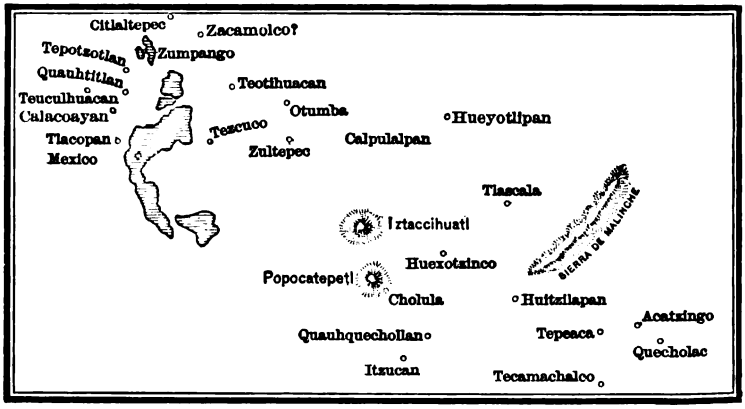
whether it would afford him shelter and aid. He knew that the loss of so many of its warriors under his banner had brought wide-spread affliction, which might turn to hatred toward him as the cause. Thereupon he talked to the Tlascaltec chiefs who were yet alive, and endeavored to stir in them the thirst for revenge, and excite their desires for rich spoils and increased domain.[20]

Besiegers and besieged sat watching each other the whole day, but the latter made no signs of stirring. Thinking that they would not venture forth for some time, many of the former began to file off homeward, leaving, nevertheless, a strong force round the hill. Cortés feared that the morrow would bring them back with reinforcements and make escape difficult. Trusting again therefore to the darkness, now joined to the more advantageous circumstance of an open field, he set forth, leaving the fires blazing to lull the watchfulness of the foe. Eight captains were appointed for the different sections to maintain the arranged order of march,[21] Cortés with a portion of the cavalry taking the rear, as the post of danger. The rest of the horsemen led the van, while the sound infantry formed a cordon for the centre, wherein the wounded were carried in hammocks, or hobbled along on hastily prepared crutches, a few being taken up behind the horsemen. The rear had hardly left the temple before the enemy were upon them with swords and lances, many of the captured and recovered weapons of the Spaniards being now used against themselves. But the attack was not severe, partly because the pursuers had been reduced to irregular bands from the mainland settlements, whose chief object was plunder. At dawn the town of Calacoayan was

[20] Ixtlilxochitl names some of the chiefs to whom these offers were made. *Hist. Chich.*, 302.

[21] Ávila, a veritable martinet, maimed a soldier with a blow for stepping from the ranks to pluck some fruit. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xii. The same story has been told of Ávila in Cempoala.

sighted, and on approaching it the mounted scouts came in a ravine upon an ambuscade formed by its warriors. Believing them to be numerous the horsemen galloped back, and joined by others returned to charge. It is related that the leader halting for a moment to arrange for the attack, a soldier became impatient, and hoisting an improvised flag on his lance he called out, "Santiago! follow me who dare!" The rest responded, and the enemy was routed with slaughter.[22] The town was ransacked for food and



fired as a warning to the assailants. The march was resumed, and the plain of Tizaapan reached, but owing to the fight at the town and the constant skirmishing only three leagues were made that day. Toward sunset they reached the hamlet of Teuculhuacan, and took peaceable possession of the temple for the night.[23]

[22] Cortés allows the five scouts to defeat the enemy, who are frightened by the supposition that a larger force is upon them. *Cartas*, 137. Herrera is more explicit with regard to the ambuscade, and makes Ordaz lead up the reinforcements. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xii.

[23] 'Mas no cenar.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 162. Sahagun states, however, that this was the town to which the Otomís had on the preceding day invited them, chiefly because they were related to the Otomís of the Tlascaltec division under Cortés. *Hist. Conq.*, 34–5. A risky proceeding, if true, for an isolated community, on whom might fall the vengeance of the hostile Mexicans. In

cavalry charged, and took refuge on the hill-slopes, flinging with their missiles jeers and insults. "Women!" they cried; "cowards, who fight only when mounted! You are going whence none of you shall escape!" The latter threat was frequently heard, but its meaning failed as yet to be understood. There was a worse enemy than the Mexicans, however, and that was hunger, which made itself severely felt, "although Spaniards can endure its pangs better than any other nation," vaunts Gomara, "and this band of Cortés' better than all." Eagerly they scanned the road side for fruit or roots, and many ate grass, while the Tlascaltecs threw themselves upon the ground and begged their gods to take pity upon them.[24] One soldier opened a dead body and ate the liver, and when Cortés heard of it he ordered the man hanged, but the sentence was not executed. The route, at first craggy, passed through the towns of Quauhtitlan and Tepotzotlan, along the lake of Zumpango, to Citlaltepec, where camp was formed. The inhabitants had fled, but food was there to eat, and even to carry on their journey, and there they remained all the next day.[25]

[24] 'Mordiendo la tierra, arrancando yeruas, y alçãdo los ojos al cielo, dezian, dioses no nos desampareys en este peligro, pues teneys poder sobre todos los hombres, hazed que con vuestra ayuda salgamos del.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xii.

[25] Herrera conforms to Cortés and Gomara in admitting a stay of two nights at one place, but makes this Tecopatlan, called 'duck town,' from its many fowl. This is evidently Tepotzotlan. But it was not near the lake like Citlaltepec, and 'duck town' applies rather to a lake town, in this region, at least. Cortés also writes, in *Cartas*, 137, 'fuimos aquel dia por cerca de unas lagunas hasta que llegamos á una poblacion,' and this does not apply well to Tepotzotlan, which lies a goodly distance from the lakes, requiring certainly no march along 'some' lakes to reach it. Hence the Citlaltepec of Sahagun must be meant. This author, however, supposes the Spaniards to stay one night at each place. *Hist. Conq.*, 36 (ed. 1840), 129. Ixtlilxochitl calls the place after Tepotzotlan, Aychqualco. *Hist. Chich.*, 302. At Tepotzotlan, says Vetancurt, some of the people remained to receive the Spaniards—this is in accordance with one of Sahagun's versions—and here remained to hide the son of Montezuma, whom he supposes to have escaped with the troops. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 144. According to Chimalpain's interpretation the Spaniards stay the two nights at Quauhtitlan, and thence proceed by way of Ecatepec, now San Cristóbal, skirting the northern shore of Tezcuco Lake, and on to Otumba. *Hist. Conq.*, i. 304–5. This route certainly appears the most direct, but there is no authority for it. The sentence from Cortés might no doubt be adopted equally well for this road; but Sahagun, Ixtlilxochitl, and Herrera

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above reasons apply.

[26] 'Nos convenia ir much
Owing to the guide's inefficier

[27] Sahagun also calls the
versions sometimes reverse all
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[28] 'Detrás dél [hill] estaba
138. Zacamolco is also called
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all Anáhuac, and one of the
ruins, see *Native Races*, iv. 5

[29] 'Con un golpe de piedr
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[30] 'Le comieron sin dexar
Mex., 162. 'La cabeza cupo

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[35] While they were halting,
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into a copse. *Herrera*, ii. x. x

[36] *Camargo*, *Hist. Tlax.*, 1
the name Zihuatcatlzin, and
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foot-soldiers. Swift as the wind the gallant Sandoval flew past, crying to his comrades: "We win to-day, señores! We win to-day, God helping us!" María de Estrada was likewise there, cheering onward the men, and sharing danger with the foremost of the brave.

It would indeed seem to persons of less confidence than the Spaniards that some supernatural power had been necessary on this day to deliver them. Nor did the Tlascaltecs belie their fame as warriors, for they fought like lions, as the soldier-chronicler declares, the chief Calmecahua being particularly conspicuous for his bravery.[38]

For a while the horsemen had it all their own way, chiefly, as Cortés observes, because the enemy consisted of such disorganized masses as to prevent one another either from fighting or fleeing; but as they became more used to the Spanish tactics they offered firmer resistance. The horse of the general being so severely struck in the mouth as to become unmanageable, Cortés dismounted and turned it loose to seek another. The injured animal, seemingly imbued with its master's spirit, dashed at the enemy in mad career, creating quite a panic in its course. The cavalry took advantage of the confusion to follow, partly with a view to secure the animal; after regaining the main body they indulged in a brief rest. The heat no less than the fighting had tired out both men and horses; but there was for them little respite, for no sooner had the foes observed their inaction than they closed in round them with renewed courage. "Thrust well and deep," came the order to the soldiers, "for they are all chiefs!" And so they seemed, from their rich dress, their elaborate devices, and their glittering ornaments. Cortés now mounted a horse whose viciousness had hitherto consigned him to the

[38] Camargo states that he lived to an age exceeding 130 years. Heroes in all ages have enjoyed the privilege of not being tied down to laws governing ordinary mortals.

baggage department,[39] and again the cavalry formed, this time in more compact order. But the enemy, ever relieved by fresh men, maintained the firmness with which they had begun the charge, and both horsemen and foot-soldiers found the pressure becoming greater and the fight hotter. Thus the battle continued during the greater part of the forenoon,[40] the natives evidently as fresh as ever, and the Spaniards visibly failing. "We thought surely that this was to be our last day," writes Cortés, "in view of the great strength of the Indians and the little resistance they could find in us, tired as we were, and nearly all wounded, and faint with hunger."

A feeling of suffocation and deathly despair comes over the Spaniards as the dusky host fold them in closer and yet fiercer embrace. Hot falls the blood-reeking breath upon their faces, as, flushed with success and sure of their victims, the foe lay hold of the Spaniards to drag them away to the sacrifice. Rare offerings to the gods, indeed, are these magnificent men! And such they will surely become if Mary, Santiago, or the ready genius of Cortés appears not quickly to the rescue! But how shall there be rescue? What rescue is there to the sinking ship alone in mid-ocean? Can this Cortés for the release of his comrades baffle death like Hercules for the release of Alcestis?

So it would seem. Behold yonder grand personage, borne aloft in open litter, high over the others, with plumed head-dress, and above it the gold-net standard, the *tlahuizmatlaxopilli*, set with precious feathers, and secured to his back by a staff, according to custom.[41]

[39] An ill-natured brute, which attacked the enemy with teeth and hoofs. He did good service all through the following campaign, till he fell in one of the last battles of the great siege. *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 172.

[40] 'Duró este terrible conflicto por mas de cuatro horas.... Llegado el medio dia, con el intolerable trabajo de la pelea, los españoles comenzaron á desmayar.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 132.

[41] 'En vnas Andas, vn Caballero mandando, con vna Rodela Dorada, y que la Vandera, y Señal Real, que le salia por las Espaldas, era vna Red de Oro, que los Indios llamaban Tlahuizmatlaxopilli, que le subia diez palmos.' *Torquemada*, i. 509. 'Su vandera tendida, con ricas armas de oro, y grandes penachos

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Cortés, when he re
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de argenteria.' *Bernal Diaz,*
net *matlaxopili. Hist. Chich.,*
quemada.

as they had fought before, as cravenly did they now flee.[43]

Forgetful of wounds and hunger, and regardless of the imminent danger attending such a course, the Spaniards pursued the foolish fugitives, thrusting and slashing at them until they had killed twenty thousand—a round figure, truly, and one which accords well with the estimates of the entire force. But after all, what the natives had hitherto suffered must have been little compared with the present slaughter, for their dead lay very thick along the line of retreat. Hardly one among the Spaniards had come off scathless, while few of the poor Tlascaltecs were left to share in the rich spoils.[44]

After recalling the troops from their bloody pursuit, the first care of Cortés was to see that the wounded soldiers had rest and refreshment. Then a solemn thanksgiving service was held, and right earnestly did they all join in its offering. Cortés ascribed the victory to St Peter, as with his name on his lips he had made the miraculous charge. But Santiago was the soldiers' favorite, as they declared he was present and fought with them; and near the village of Tenexcalco a chapel was afterward erected to commemorate his appearance.[45]

Obviously this battle was the most important so far in the New World; and it must ever be regarded as one of the most remarkable in history. The natives were probably much less numerous than the estimates of the boastful victors; still they were immensely superior in number and condition to the Spaniards, enfeebled by recent defeat, by wounds, and want.

[43] 'Los principales, lleuarõ cõ grã llanto, el cuerpo de su general,' says Herrera; but this is doubtful, to judge also from his subsequent observations.

[44] 'Murieron....casi todos los amigos de los españoles, y algunos de ellos mismos.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 132. Solis acknowledges only wounded, of whom two or three died afterward. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 203. Cortés did not escape additional wounds, from which he was soon to suffer intensely.

[45] The natives were particularly ready to testify to this supernatural aid, as Camargo relates, *Hist. Tlax.*, 172, perhaps for their own credit, as good converts and brave warriors.

where he hoped to find a haven. It was only hope, however; for Cortés came not as before, heralded as the invincible conqueror, to whose bravery and deeds the warlike republic was delighted to offer homage; nor with the vision of the mighty Montezuma bending before him; nor with the prospect of entering to assume control of a great empire. All this was changed. He had lost his former prestige, and could present himself only as a fugitive to seek protection for a remnant of his army. And this at the hands of those who might yet smart under the stigma of defeat by a handful, and who might now find it prudent and convenient to accept the friendship and wealth of the victorious Aztecs. What if the people of Tlascala should reject him? "We were not very confident in finding the natives of the said province faithful and friends of ours," writes Cortés; "for we feared that they, on seeing us so dismembered, might seek our lives, in order to recover the liberty which they formerly enjoyed. This thought and fear kept us in as great an affliction as when we marched along harassed by those of Culúa."[49] Nevertheless he sought to cheer his men with hopes for the best, and to remind them how necessary it was, now above all, to guard their conduct so as to give rise to no jealousies or unpleasantness, since even a petty quarrel might raise a whirlwind to overwhelm them. Should God, however, not permit them to rest in Tlascala, they must recall their many glorious victories over greater forces than could henceforth be brought against them, and be prepared with stout hearts and vigorous arms to meet the issue.

The march was resumed in the morning with the usual precautions, although the pursuers fell off as the border was approached. Soon the Spaniards reached a fountain on the slope of a hill, close to an ancient fortress, which marked the boundary of the

[49] *Cartas*, 140. 'Pues quizà sabiamos cierto, que nos auian de ser leales, ò que voluntad ternian.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 108.

Tlascaltecs for the Mexicans was too deep to be smothered by one reverse, and the desire to avenge their fallen brethren intensified it. When the news came of the hostile gathering at Otumba they had endeavored to procure reinforcements for their allies, but had not been able to collect a sufficient number in time.[52]

Cortés was deeply moved by the kind expressions and offers accorded him, and sought in every way to strengthen this so vital friendship. He exhibited profound grief over the death of so many Tlascaltec allies, and sympathized in particular with Maxixcatzin over the loss of his daughter Elvira, who had fallen with her husband Velazquez. He also distributed presents, chiefly such as had been obtained from the Otumba battle-field, and induced his men to follow the example. Maxixcatzin's heart was completely won by the gift of the banner taken from the Mexican generalissimo,[53] and other chiefs were gladdened with different trophies. The troops remained at Hueyotlipan for three days,[54] in order to recruit somewhat, and then, assisted by a number of carriers, they passed

[52] 'Yo queria,' said Maxixcatzin, 'yr en vuestra busca con treynta mil guerreros.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 109. This is confirmed by the Aztec version of Duran, which says that the rumor of Tlascaltec preparations helped to intimidate the proposed Mexican reinforcements for Otumba. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 483. According to Oviedo, 50,000 warriors, followed by 20,000 carriers, met the Spaniards at the frontier. iii. 514. Camargo extends the number to 200,000, 'who came too late, but served nevertheless to check pursuit from the enemy.' *Hist. Tlax.*, 173. Gomara stamps Oviedo's statement as hearsay, but adds that the Tlascaltecs declared themselves prepared to return with the Spaniards at once against Mexico. This Cortés declined to do for the present, but allowed a few soldiers to join a band in pursuit of marauding stragglers. *Hist. Mex.*, 164. The delay in collecting the proposed reinforcements may have been due to the small faction hostile to the Spaniards, headed by the captain-general, Xicotencatl the younger, who seems never to have forgiven the disgrace of defeat which they had been the first to inflict upon him. He had accompanied the lords to Hueyotlipan, perhaps to gloat over the misfortune of his victors. According to Herrera, Captain Juan Paez—Torquemada writes Perez—was one of the invalids at Tlascala, and to him 100,000 warriors had been offered to go to the aid of his general; but he declined, on the ground that his strict orders were to remain with his 80 men at Tlascala. For this he was naturally upbraided by Cortés as a coward, fit for hanging. The story is not very probable. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xiv.; *Torquemada*, i. 512.

[53] 'Que estimó él mucho, y puso por una de sus armas.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 303.

[54] *Cortés, Cartas*, 140. Bernal Diaz intimates one day.

on to the capital. Here the whole population came forth, headed by the lords, to welcome them, with music, and flowers, and acclamations.[55] Cortés was taken in charge by Maxixcatzin and lodged in his palace; Alvarado became the guest of old Xicotencatl, and the others received every attention. The reception concluded with a series of festivities.[56]

[55] 'Cō mas de duzientos mil hombres en orden: yuan las mugeres, y niños, en la delantera.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xiii. This order may have been intended to signify peace and welcome.

[56] Camargo differs from Bernal Diaz, in intimating that all were lodged in Maxixcatzin's palace, while Ixtlilxochitl assumes that Cortés was the guest of Xicotencatl. 'Magiscacin me trajo una cama de madera encajada, con alguna ropa....y á todos hizo reparar de lo que él tuvo.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 141.

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valids. On the way they were surprised and slaughtered, the treasures and effects being distributed as spoils.[1]

The larger division of the party, under the hidalgo Juan Yuste,[2] which were to join Cortés, also picked up some convalescents, together with additional treasure and baggage, and proceeded to Mexico by the way of Calpulalpan. They numbered five horsemen, forty-five foot-soldiers, and three hundred Tlascaltecs, the latter under command of one of Maxixcatzin's sons. Advised of their approach the natives of Zultepec, among others, were induced, more by cupidity than patriotic zeal, to form an ambuscade along the steep declivity of a narrow pass which had to be followed. Here they fell upon the party on all sides as they descended in single file, encumbered beside by their burdens. Resistance was ineffective, and those not slain were carried to Tezcuco to be offered up to the idols, while their effects were distributed, some of the trophies being dedicated to temples of the Acolhuan capital, there to tell the mournful tale to the returning conquerors.[3]

[1] This appears to have taken place on the Xocotlan road, followed by the Spaniards on first entering the country, for in the temple of this town, says Bernal Diaz, were found the saddles and other trophies. He estimates the treasure lost at 40,000 pesos. *Hist. Verdad.*, 108, 116–117; *Lejalde, Probanza*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 425.

[2] Herrera writes, under Iuste and Morla. If correct there were two Morlas.

[3] Herrera copies this account, but gives also another in an earlier chapter, which leads one to suppose that Yuste and a few companions escaped to the mountains. They either perished of hunger or were captured at some settlement while offering the remnant of their treasures for food. An inscription by Yuste on a piece of bark recorded their sufferings. 'Por aqui passò el desdichado Iuan Iuste, con sus desdichados compañeros, con tàta hambre, que por pocas tortillas de mayz, diò vno vna barra de oro, que pesaua ochocientos ducados.' dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xiii.; dec. iii. lib. i. cap. v. Torquemada repeats both versions. i. 530–1. Peter Martyr and Gomara are also confused, allowing the Yuste party in one page to fall at the pass, and on another to turn back to Villa Rica from Tlascala. *Hist. Mex.*, 165, 181–2. A misinterpretation of a vague passage by Cortés is the cause of the mistake, into which nearly every writer has fallen. The party carried, according to the *Cartas*, 141, 183–4, a number of agreements with the natives, and other valuable documents, beside Cortés' personal effects and valuables, worth over 30,000 pesos de oro. Bernal Diaz says three loads of gold. The inhabitants said that people from Tezcuco and Mexico had done the deed to avenge Cacama. But none except the natives of the district could have had time to gather for the attack.

About this time a vess
three or four score of
Coronado, and being
Mexico they resolved to
army, in order to secure
just after the flight fro
were in arms, elated at t
approaching the Tepeac
prised, and partly slaug
prisoners being distribu
province for sacrifice.[4]

These reports created
of Villa Rica, and sever
sent with letters, by dif
Orders were also given t
powder, fire-arms, bows,
could spare, together w
others were available.
although the natives h
disaster at Mexico than
to the garrison, yet ever

[4] Herrera places the number of
xv. Bernal Diaz speaks of the slaug
and he leaves the impression that t
had followed the army at their leis
the party described in the text. Y
struction at Tochtepec of a force o
sent to reduce this province a few
no other original authority, may b
party in question belonged to the
accompanied Yuste and Alcántara
arrived after their departure. This
ment that several small parties, v
Cortés' conquests, were killed in Te
narratives of Bernal Diaz and Cor
ten to eighteen men, who fell at Que
likely that so many small parties
short interval of Cortés' departure
nor that they would have venture
during so unquiet a period; nor v
penetrate so far as Tepeaca ere th
belonged to the large party spoke
captive, were distributed among t
defeat. This appears to be the onl
which have so confused every writ
or into the omission of facts. Se
Mex., ii. 409–10; *Brasseur de Bou*

remittance of war material was small, and the men who convoyed it numbered less than a dozen, men stricken by disease, and led by Lencero, who became the butt of the *drôles de corps*.[5]

Every attention and comfort was tendered at Tlascala to the Spaniards while caring for their wounds and awaiting the development of projects. Hardly a man had arrived scathless, and quite a number had received injuries which maimed them for life or resulted in death.[6] Cortés' wounds were most serious. The indomitable spirit which sustained him so far now yielded with the failing body. Severe scalp cuts brought on fever,[7] which caused his life to hang in the balance for some time. Finally his strong constitution and the excellent empiric methods of the native herb doctors prevailed, to the joy, not alone of Spaniards, but of Tlascaltecs, who had shown the utmost anxiety during the crisis.

During this period of Spanish inaction the Mexicans were energetically striving to follow up their blow against the invaders. The first act after ridding the capital of their presence was one of purgation, in which the victorious party fell on those whose lukewarmness, or whose friendly disposition toward Montezuma and his guests, had hindered the siege operations and aided the enemy. A tumult was soon raised, wherein perished four royal princes, brothers and sons of Montezuma,[8] whose death may be at-

[5] Bernal Diaz intimates that only two vessels remained of Narvaez' fleet, and one of these was now destroyed so that the crew might be sent to Tlascala. The reinforcements numbered four soldiers and three sailors, two of whom suffered from swollen stomachs, and the rest from venereal diseases. *Hist. Verdad.*, 109.

[6] Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 109, mentions only four deaths.

[7] 'Se le pasmo la cabeça, o porque no le curaron bien, sacãdo le cascos: o por el demasiado trabajo.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 162. Solis describes the progress of the cure with a minuteness that would do credit to a medical journal. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 212-14.

[8] The Cihuacohuatl, Tzihuacpopocatzin, Cipocatli, and Tencuecuenotzin. The account of this tumult is given in a memorial on the conquest by an Indian, possessed by Torquemada. i. 509-10. Brasseur de Bourbourg assumes Tzihuacpopocatzin and the Cihuacohuatl to be sons of Tizoc, and the last two

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More decisive in its results was the mission to Tlascala. Regarded as the most important of all, it was intrusted to six prominent men, of acknowledged talent for negotiation. They came fortified with choice presents of robes, feathers, salt, and similar desirable commodities, and were received with customary courtesy by the assembled lords and council. The eldest was the first to speak. He recalled the intimate relationship between Mexico and Tlascala in blood and language, deplored the feud which had so long existed, and urged the establishment of permanent peace, for mutual benefit, whereby the Tlascaltecs would gain all the advantages of a long prohibited trade. One obstacle alone interposed to prevent a happy harmony, which was the presence of the Spaniards, to whom was due the unfortunate condition of the whole country. Their only aim was to make themselves masters, to overthrow the gods of the natives, to enslave the inhabitants, and impoverish them by exactions.

The Tlascaltecs would after rendering service be treated with the same base ingratitude and perfidy as the over generous Montezuma, and reap not only universal detestation, but the anger of the gods. Better, therefore, to seize the present favorable opportunity to deliver themselves from dreadful calamities, to establish prosperity and independence on a firm basis, and by a joint alliance recover the alienated provinces and share the revenues therefrom.[14] The first step to this desirable end was the destruction of the Spaniards, now at their mercy, whereby they would gain also the gratitude of neighboring peoples, the fame of patriots, and the blessing of the gods.

The speech delivered, together with the presents, the envoys withdrew to let the council deliberate. Bitter as was the enmity between the two peoples, intensified by the recent defeat, there were not want-

[14] 'Entrarian en parte de todas las rentas de las provincias sugetas por el imperio.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 304.

easy now to overcon
burden of maintaining
prospect of afterward
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could not but observ
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During the deliberatic
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and trade, he had als
would accrue from a
called the many insta
good faith on the part
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[16] 'A q̃ venistes, a comernos
çados de Mexico, echados como

porters ventured to re
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Aztec envoys were no
mentous this discussi
Tlascala realize the fi
thereby they determin
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Undoubtedly the cour
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their safety to a deci
between the native tri
saved from what proba
erous alliance, perhaps
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conquered people.[19] T
disagreement in the
Cortés, but he heard
Maxixcatzin in his dev
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cloud dissipated, leaving the ro
tracting many believers. *Hist.*
chief among the lords, to attack
Spaniards. *Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840

[18] With reference to the atte
Herrera says, 'Sin tener los Mexi
de lo que passaua,' dec. ii. lib. x. c
into a flight of the envoy on obs
da credersi, che il Senato manda
la risposta.' *Storia Mess.*, iii. 1
they fled; but this is unlikely,
could hardly have escaped from
edge of the senate, who had, b
honor and protection as for prev
Envoys enjoyed great respect am
assume more correctly that the

[19] Tlascala sealed her enslav
terests for the sake of shameful
decay, and in the odium cast o
Bustamante, in *Sahagun, Hist.*
dwindled away ever since Cortés
directions; but this was the nat
ence of the stronger element.
slight privileges, and since the
casual references to the conques

nable idols with their bloody ministers, and tame summon others to enjoy the riches and glories whi you are too craven to achieve? Alack! for yo patriotism, for duty to your emperor, to God, for t honor of Spanish arms! Know you not that o step further in retreat than necessary is equivale to the abandonment of all? Or perhaps the fault my own. I have been too careful of mine ease, t cowardly to expose my person to the dangers in which I directed you; I have fled before the foe—he me to remember, friends—I have left my comrades t die unaided on the battle-field while I sought safet I have fed while you starved, I have slept while yo labored, or my too sluggish brain has refused the dut due by your commander." The speaker paused, bu only for a moment. At this, the very beginning of h plea, a hundred eyes were affectionately regarding hir through their moisture, a hundred tongues were deny ing all insinuations of baseness as applied to him, thei great and brave commander. Already their heart were aflame with avarice and ambition; aflame, lik St Augustine's, with Christian zeal and fervency o devotion, soldier fanatics as they were, stern, fore head-wrinkled men—for fighting men, no less tha fighting dogs, display a gravity in their every-da demeanor unknown to tamer spirits. "Are not m interests yours, and yours mine?" continued Cortés "Therefore, I pray you, ascribe not my views to dis-regard of your wishes, but to a desire to promote the good of all. What people going to war that does not sometimes suffer defeat; but what brave men ever abandoned a glorious campaign because of one repulse? And do you not see that it is more dangerous to go than to remain—that to retreat further would only invite further attack? I will not allude before soldiers of mine," concluded the speaker, "to the everlasting infamy of abandoning these brave Tlascaltecs to the enmity of the combined forces of the plateau for having stood the Spaniards' friend in time of danger.

The latter were reconciled to the prosecution of the conquest on finding the opening campaign so speedy and comparatively bloodless, and fresh confidence was infused into the Tlascaltecs, and new allies came forward, while the prestige of Spanish arms began again to spread terror among the enemy and open a way into other provinces. This was promoted by messengers, who carried promises of release from Aztec tyranny, and pointed out the fate of rebellious and stubborn Tepeacan towns. The Mexicans, who during the inactivity of the allies had grown somewhat lax in their efforts to conciliate subject provinces, now became more earnest, more free with presents and offers to remit tribute. These endeavors were greatly counteracted by their troops, however, whose insolence and greed drove the inhabitants to tacitly or openly favor the Spaniards.

The withdrawal of the Aztec garrisons from Tepeaca served to strengthen those on its frontier, particularly at Quauhquechollan,[33] ten or eleven leagues southwest of the new Spanish head-quarters, which protected the approach to the southern pass into the valley of Mexico.[34] Its province bordered on Huexotzinco and Cholula, and skirting the snow-crowned Popocatepetl it extended for some distance south and south-east of it. The lord,[35] who had tendered allegiance to Spain simultaneously with Montezuma, had recently sent in the assurance of his loyalty, with the explanation that fear of the Mexicans had prevented him from doing so before. A few days later came his messengers to ask protection against the Aztec garrisons, reinforced to the extent of some thirty thousand men,[36] who, from their camp within a league of the city, were plundering and committing

[33] The name of a beautiful bird, now San Martin de Huaquechula. This town was known to the Spaniards under the name of Guacachula.

[34] 'Á la entrada de un puerto que se pasa para entrar á la provincia de Méjico por allí.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 145. After the conquest it was moved to a more open site, three leagues south. *Torquemada*, i. 316.

[35] Calcozametl. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 372.

[36] Herrera reduces Cortés' figure to 20,000.

outrages. This appeal being quite in accord with the plans of Cortés, he at once complied by sending Olid and Ordaz, with two hundred soldiers, thirteen horses, most of the fire-arms and cross-bows, and thirty thousand allies.[37] It was arranged with the Quauhquechollans that they should begin the attack as soon as the Spaniards came near, and cut off communication between the city garrison and the adjoining camp.

Olid marched by way of Cholula, and received *en route* large accessions of volunteers, chiefly from the province to be aided and from Huexotzinco, all eager for a safe blow at the Aztecs, and for a share of the spoils. So large, indeed, was the enrolment that some of the ever timid men of Narvaez conjured up from this a plot for their betrayal into the hands of the Mexicans, with whom rumor filled every house at Quauhquechollan, making in all a larger number than at Otumba. The loyalty of the new province being wholly untried, and that of Huexotzinco but little proven, the alarm appeared not unfounded, and even the leaders became so infected as to march back to Cholula, whence the chiefs of the suspected allies were sent under guard to Cortés, with a report of the occurrence.[38] The latter examined the prisoners, and readily surmised the cause of the trouble; but, as it would not answer to dampen native ardor for the war by leaving them in that suspicion, he apologized for

[37] Bernal Diaz names Olid alone for the command, and Gomara adds Ordaz and Andrés de Tapia, while Herrera substitutes Ordaz and Ávila. The latter is probably wrong in giving them 300 soldiers, and Peter Martyr errs, through his printer, perhaps, in allowing only 3000 allies.

[38] Cortés writes that this occurred in a town of Huexotzinco province, and that here the Spaniards were alarmed by the report of collusion between the Huexotzincas, the Quauhquechollans, and the Aztecs. The leaders described the expedition as difficult. *Cartas*, 146. Gomara follows, naming the captain who brought the chiefs captive to Cortés. *Hist. Mex.*, 169. Bernal Diaz points out very plausibly that Huexotzinco lay wholly out of the way; and, ignoring the accession of volunteers, he assumes that the report of a vast gathering of Mexican troops round Quauhquechollan was the cause for alarm, among the Narvaez party only. Olid appealed to their honor, and did all he could to encourage them, but failed. *Hist. Verdad.*, 112–13. Clavigero believes, on the other hand, that Olid caught the alarm as readily as the rest. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 154. The joining of Huexotzincas may have led to the belief that the march lay through their territory.

what had happened as a misunderstanding, sm their ruffled feelings with presents, and enco their zeal. With an additional force of one hu soldiers and some horses he set out for Chol assume command in person, shaming the men their fears,[39] and accepting the large reinforce which were offered on the way.

As soon as he came in sight, at the end valley, the Quauhquechollans, who had made preparations in advance, fell on the garrison, se at the same time the scouts and stragglers. Aztecs resisted valiantly, encompassed though were by assailants who filled the roofs and h round the temple which formed the citadel entry was effected by the Spaniards, and the n rushed upon the warriors with such fury that sc one was left to tell the tale. A number of tl sieged, outside the citadel, had already fled t the Aztec camp, whose battalions were no scending, brilliant in feathered mail and ornan Entering the further side of the city they to fire it. Cortés was summoned to the rescue hurrying onward with the cavalry he soon r their disorganized masses, leaving pursuit chie the allies. At a certain pass the enemy rallied, dislodged within a few moments and cut off from camp. Exhausted by battle and flight, under a ing sun, they turned in disorderly scramble up the mountain slope, only to find themselves checked o summit by fleeter bands of Quauhquechollans and allies, and obliged to make a stand. By this they could hardly raise their hands in self-def and the battle became little more than a butc during which scattered remnants alone manage escape, leaving the rich garments and jewel

[39] Bernal Diaz states that Cortés did not go, but sent Olid a sharp which roused him to proceed with the expedition. But our chronicl sick with fever all this time, and has evidently not been well inf Cortés' description of the route and of different occurrences indicates must have been present.

the dead to stay the
to Cortés, numbered
Several Spaniards
killed.[40] The field b
the camp,[41] which wa
large enough, it is sa
well appointed, with
paraphernalia. Lade
the city to receive a
zens were afterward
for their loyal aid;[42]
out their coöperation
captured without diff
rivers[43] coursing throu
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work of masonry, whi
and down into the
facing of some twent
into a distinct wall of
a parapet. There wc
for one horseman onl
with maze-like lappin
it difficult to force an
piles of stones and
population was estin
families, supported ir
within the city, and
in the valley, contain

Four leagues soutl
can,[46] a well built cit

[40] 'Cayeron muchos dellos [e
ninguna, y dos c oallos se estan
[41] 'En Mexinca.' *Gomara, I*
[42] 'Y se les conservan el dí
España, 160.
[43] 'Dos tiros de ballesta el
[44] 'Tres estados en alto, y l
cap. xvi. 'Alto como cuatro es
está casi igual con el suelo.' *Co*
[45] Herrera says two.
[46] Later Izucar; now Matan

tive troops. Its subju
be easy, and would sec
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conquerors and allure
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ness to coöperate, as if
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the war.

The troops were mu
Tlascala, amidst a larg
were about four hundr
with nearly twenty ho
pieces, and a number of
chiefly swords and pikes
of six thousand Tlascalt
and Huexotzincas, a lar
Xicotencatl to follow l

[25] The suggestion of thus ope
torians for the Tlascaltec lords, I
nator. *Hist. Chich.*, 303; *Camarg*

[26] And out of gratitude for
claims.

[27] Half of the booty obtained
tion of Cholula, Huexotzinco, a
This extent of jurisdiction is doul
escriptura de conservarlos en sus
ment given in *Vetancvrt, Teatro M*
made to encroach on their rights
justice.

[25] Bernal Diaz, who alone en
4000 Tlascaltecs, 17 horses, and 6
Hist. Verdad., 111. But this is ha
to 440 men, and there is no dou
other war material must have bee
of musketeers and 6000 allies, 50

passed through that province in search of Zacatula's gold mines.[52]

Before leaving Itzucan, Cortés was called upon to appoint a successor to the fugitive cacique. The candidates were a bastard son of the late native cacique, whose death was due to Montezuma, and the son of the deceased ruler's legitimate daughter, married to the lord of Quauhquechollan. The general, being only too eager to please so loyal an ally, decided in favor of his son, on the ground of legitimacy; but since he was not yet ten years old, the regency was intrusted to the bastard uncle, aided by some chiefs.[53] The boy followed the army to imbibe Spanish ideas and instruction, and received baptism not long after, with the name of Alonso,[54] the first Christian prince in New Spain.

Another important yet troublesome expedition was to secure the road to Villa Rica, on which so many Spaniards had fallen, and which was still dangerous. It was intrusted to two hundred men, with ten horses, and a large force of allies.[55] The first reduction in this quarter had been Quecholac, where pillage and enslavement formed the retaliation for murders committed,[56] and Tecamachalco, which gave greater trouble before it fell, and yielded over two thousand slaves,

[52] They had always been loyal, they said, although deterred by fear of Mexico from sooner proclaiming it; the four remaining pueblos of the province would soon send in their allegiance. *Cortés, Cartas*, 152–3.

[53] The construction of sentences in *Cortés, Cartas*, 152, and the complex relationship, have misled nearly every one who notices this incident—as, *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 171; *Vetancurt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 147; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 116a.

[54] Alonso Coltzin. *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, ii. 12. Ixtlilxochitl calls him Ahuecatzin. *Hist. Chich.*, 305. Alvarado stood sponsor. Terrified by some idle gossip, or by the preparations for his baptism, the boy asked the friar when he was to be sacrificed; but received comfort in a pious exhortation. *Torquemada*, i. 320.

[55] Herrera gives the command to Olid and Juan Rodriguez de Villafuerte, the owner of the much disputed first madonna image, accompanied by Juan Nuñez, Sedeño, Lagos, and Mata, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xvii. Olid may have been detached from Quauhquechollan after the first success had made troops less necessary; yet Herrera indicates that he set out before this expedition.

[56] 'En lo de Cachula fue adonde auian muerto en los aposentos quinze Es-
ñoles.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 112.

this town the neighborhood was reduced, with pillage and enslavement.

The next camp was formed at Acatzingo, which had been abandoned by the enemy after a short fight. These successes so discouraged the Mexican garrisons that they abandoned the province, and the allies, on marching straight for Tepeaca, five days later, entered it without opposition. This now became the headquarters for the different expeditions sent out to reduce the surrounding districts;[31] and rare work they made of it, plundering, and tearing down idols, and making captives. Salt, cotton, feather ware, and other commodities were abundant, and with their share therein the Tlascaltecs were highly delighted, but the Spaniards obtained little gold. The rulers of the country had fled; one of them to Mexico, to remonstrate against the retreat of the garrisons, and to demand additional aid. Finding themselves abandoned, the inhabitants sent to beg mercy of the conquerors, and being assured that no further harm should be done them, they returned to the city and again tendered allegiance. Several other towns were taken, some, like Tecalco, south of Tepeaca, being evacuated, others tendering submission in advance, while still others required hard fighting to subdue.

The reduction of the Tepeaca province, which was virtually accomplished in about a month,[32] produced an immediate and marked effect, not only on the natives, but on the late refractory Spanish soldiers.

not well suffer from hunger in the midst of maize fields, in harvest time. Oviedo takes occasion to dwell on the common practice of devouring the slain on the battle-field, thus saving the trouble of burial. iii. 334. 'Mi pare una favola,' is Clavigero's comment. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 152. See *Native Races.*

[31] 'Padeciendo siempre de agua, y comida.' *Herrera*, ubi sup. But this could hardly be the case in so rich a province, at this time.

[32] 'En obra de veinte dias hobe pacíficas muchas villas y poblaciones á ella sujetas....sin que en toda la dicha guerra me matasen ni hiriesen ni un español.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 143. 'En obra de quarenta dias tuvimos aquellos pueblos pacificos,' but with great hardship, 'porque de sangre, y polvo que estaua quajado en las entrañas, no echauamos otra cosa del cuerpo, y por la boca,' etc. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 112–13.

CHAPTER XXIX.

KING-MAKING AND CONVERTING.

October–December, 1520.

Conquest in Detail—Barba Caught—Other Arrivals and Reinforcements—The Small-pox Comes to the Assistance of the Spaniards—Letters to the Emperor—Establishing of Segura de la Frontera—Certain of the Disaffected Withdraw from the Army and Return to Cuba—Division of Spoils—Head-quarters Established at Tlascala.

Thus all was going gayly with the Estremaduran once more. It was easy work overcoming the divided Aztec forces, which combined had proved so formidable. And there was little trouble now from factions. None advocated a station by the sea-side, with ships ready for flight; none thought of abandoning New Spain for Cuba. The simple presence of the general was as the shield of Abas, which performed so many marvels, and the mere sight of which could on the instant stay a revolt or reduce a province to submission.

The successes of the Spaniards were rapidly enlarging the fame and influence of their leader, bringing among other fruits, as we have seen, alliances and reinforcements, not alone from native sources, but from Spanish. The first accession of the latter was thirteen soldiers and two horses, brought in a small vessel under the hidalgo, Pedro Barba, formerly commandant at Habana. Commandant Rangel at Villa Rica had received instructions to secure any vessel that might arrive, both with a view to obtain recruits, and to prevent news from travelling to Cuba of the defeat of Narvaez, or other incidents. As the vessel en-

tered the roadstead he accordingly appı well manned boat, with hidden arms. "I vaez?" was Barba's first inquiry. "Exc replied Rangel. "He is prosperous a Cortés is a fugitive, with a score of mise at the most; or he even may be dead." "J rejoined Barba; "for I bear letters from nificent Velazquez, with instructions traitor, if he be alive, and send him at whence he shall go to Spain, as comm most illustrious Bishop Fonseca." A course, Señor Barba will accept the pı tality; he will go ashore and deliver h Narvaez in person. And he will catcl fox from Estremadura, and carry him hanged; he will carry him to his wors Velazquez to be hanged. So entering is conveyed away, but only, alas! to prisoner; only, alas! to learn that th Cortés is not dead, and is by no means to meet strangulation at the hand eit Narvaez, or Velazquez. Meanwhile ot other boats proceed to secure the crew is dismantled; and since Cortés is the Narvaez, the so lately fierce and loyal I loath, declares for Cortés. Indeed, Ba means unfriendly to the general, as ı attitude at Habana two years befor reinforcement was gladly welcomed at Cortés sought to insure Barba's loyal him captain of archers.[1] A week later a small vessel, under the hidalgo Rodrig Lobera, with eight soldiers, a mare, a qua bow material, and a cargo of provision cured in the same manner, and the soldi proceeded to join the army. Thus Cort

[1] 'Con este...vino vn Francisco Lopez, vezino, y Guatimala.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 113. Vetancurt del Castillo—Diaz calls him 'el Almirante Pedro Cauall and his vessel. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 148; *Cortés, Residen*

forwarded to Tepeaca, where their cadaverous complexion and swollen bodies procured for them the nickname of 'panzaverdetes,' or green paunches. Hardship and bad food had carried a number past relief, and even in Tepeaca several died, including Camargo, as Bernal Diaz believes.

A month later, after the Quauhquechollan expedition, another vessel arrived with about fifty soldiers,[6] under Miguel Diaz de Auz, an Aragonian cavalier. He had been sent to reinforce Pineda, but after remaining at Rio Pánuco for a month, without seeing even a native, he had come down to search for the fleet. The fame of Cortés and the promise of rich spoils induced him to follow the preceding party, in contradistinction to which his stout and lusty recruits were dubbed the 'strong-backs.'[7] Hearing that two other vessels had been fitted out to follow the Pánuco expeditions, and were probably now cruising along the coast, Cortés ordered a crew to be sent in pursuit, with the sole desire, as he expressed it, to save them from the fate which had so nearly overtaken Camargo. One was never heard of, and the other, the largest, entered the port before the searching vessel had left, it seems, bringing about one hundred and twenty men and sixteen horses. Camargo was induced to remonstrate with the captain against proceeding to Pánuco, since the result could only be disastrous, the native lord having, beside, tendered allegiance to Cortés in Montezuma's time.[8]

[6] 'Con hasta treinta hombres de mar y tierra.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 154. 'Sus soldados, que eran mas de cincuenta, y mas siete cauallos,' says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 114; and, since Cortés would be less apt to indicate large accessions, he may be correct.

[7] 'Este fue el mejor socorro...Diaz de Auz sirvió muy bien a su Magestad en todo lo que se ofreciò en las guerras,..traxo pleyto despues. sobre el pleyto de la mitad de Mestitan,..conque le den la parte de lo que rentare el pueblo masde dos mil y quinientos pesos.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 114–15. He was excluded from the town itself, owing to cruel treatment of Indians.

[8] 'El señor de aquel rio y tierra, que se dice Pánuco, se habia dado por vasallo de V. M., en cuyo reconocimiento me habia enviado á la ciudad de Tenuxtitan, con sus mensajeros, ciertas cosas.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 144–5. But this is probably a mere assertion, since the Spanish expeditions had never been higher than Almeria, and the cacique could have had no inducement for submitting.

But the captain would not listen to him. To the j of Cortés, however, a storm arose, which obliged tl captain to slip his anchor and put to sea; obliged h to take refuge in San Juan de Ulua harbor, where found his vessel so unsafe as to require her to stranded, whereupon the forces and armaments we landed.[9] Cortés at once sent a sympathizing messag offering the captain every assistance, but never for moment intending to give him any. He even te dered other vessels for his voyage—so he tells t emperor.[10] But there is no doubt that the tender w illusive, and that he did all in his power, with briber promises, and even force, to secure the men and arm ment, and at the same time to weaken his rivals l their loss. According to some accounts he caus their vessels to be sunk to prevent departure,[11] an a which Oviedo declares a fair war measure, partic larly on the part of Cortés, who greatly need reinforcements. Men destined for so comparative unattractive a region as Pánuco must have be pleased by the prospect of ready spoils and Mexic treasures soon to fall into their hands under so ab and successful a leader as Cortés. They were ther fore readily induced to join him, the captains alone, in the last instance, interposing objections for a whil These several accessions amounted, according to tl testimony of Cortés, to about two hundred men ar some twenty horses,[12] together with a large quanti

[9] Bernal Diaz refers to the last accession from Garay's expeditions as soldiers and 10 horses, under an old man named Ramirez. Protected by hea cotton armor they were nicknamed the 'albardillas.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 115.

[10] 'Si todos ó algunos dellos se quisiesen volver en los navíos que a estaban, que les diese licencia.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 163.

[11] *Oviedo*, iii. 335; and so Herrera also intimates in reference to Camarg only remaining vessel, 'la qual se anegò tābien dētro de 10. dias en el puert dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xviii.

[12] The last two vessels bring 150 men and 16 horses, probably over 20, which must be added Camargo's force, amounting no doubt to 50 effective me for Bernal Diaz admits 60 soldiers, not counting sailors; and Herrera intimat that over 100 men must have reached Villa Rica of the total force on boa Camargo's three vessels. Bernal Diaz' estimates for the five vessels which enumerates exceed 170 soldiers and 20 horses; on fol. 115 he contradicts sever points, including the total, to which the sailors may be added, while a sm reduction is to be made for deaths among Camargo's men. Vetancurt follo

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the dead, so as to check the contagion. Not the least of the evil was a famine, which resulted from a lack of harvesters.[15]

Among the first victims at the capital were King Totoquihuatzin, of Tlacopan, and Cuitlahuatzin, the successor of Montezuma. The latter had ruled barely three months,[16] but sufficiently long to prove himself a most able leader of his people in their struggle for liberty, for he was brave, full of devices, and energetic, yet prudent; a man who, not content with securing the expulsion of invaders, had sought to strengthen his position with alliances and by attracting the subject provinces through gifts, remissions, and promises. If he did not succeed so well as he had hoped, the fault must be ascribed to the reputation of the previous government and to dereliction of duty among his officers.

As a monarch he would not have fallen far short of the native ideal, for as a general he had distinguished himself; and, the brother of Montezuma, he had in his court imbibed the dignity and majestic manner born of constant adulation from subservient nobles and plebeians. Crafty and unscrupulous, he appears not to have hesitated at crime and breach of faith to secure his aims for personal and state advancement. The flourishing condition of his own province indicated a not unwise administrator; and the beauty of Iztapalapan, its magnificent palaces, and exquisite gardens filled with choice plants from different regions, pointed to a ruler of cultivated taste.

There is no doubt that Mexico lost in him one of

[15] *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 14–15; *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, i. 39, 66; *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, 514; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 101; *Id.* (Paris ed. 1837), iv. 460 (a chapter omitted in the original); *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 148; *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, i. 279; *Torquemada*, i. 489; *Tezcoco en los ultimos tiempos*, 273.

[16] 'Vivió despues de su elecçion solos sessenta dias.' *Cano*, in *Oviedo*, iii. 549. The election having taken place twenty days after Montezuma's death, according to Ixtlilxochitl, who assumes that he ruled only 40 or 47 days. *Hist. Chich.*, 304; *Id.*, *Relaciones*, 413. Others extend the rule to 80 days, both as leader and king, perhaps, which would agree with Cano's version.

influence he had taken to wife the only legitimate daughter of Montezuma, Princess Tecuichpo, or Isabel; and although the marriage was merely nominal, she being but a child, yet the alliance served the intended aim.[21] The Tepanecs at the same time elected as successor to their king, his son Tetlepanquetzaltzin,[22] whose coronation took place at the same time as that of Quauhtemotzin, hallowed by the blood of captive enemies, including no doubt some Spaniards. Cohuanacoch had meanwhile been chosen at Tezcuco in lieu of the disowned protégé whom Cortés had foisted upon them. By this trio were taken up the plans of Cuitlahuatzin for the deliverance of the country from her invaders, and especially were their efforts directed toward securing the loyalty of provinces and allies which had been stirred by the alarming progress of Spanish arms in Tepeaca.

A loss to the Spaniards through the epidemic, which outweighed many a gain, was the death of Maxixcatzin, to whose devoted friendship they chiefly owed their escape from the recent crises;[23] for he it was who took the lead in offering the Tlascaltec alliance and in overthrowing the inimical plans of the younger Xicotencatl in favor of the Aztecs. When the sad news came, Cortés felt as if he had lost a father, says Bernal Diaz, and mourning robes were donned by quite a number of the captains and men. In this they felt the more justified, since the chief, on finding himself stricken by the dread disease, had expressed a wish to become a Christian, and with the name of Lorenzo had received baptism at the hands of Olmedo, who joyfully hastened to Tlascala to perform so welcome a service for the Spaniards'

[21] 'Moglie già del suo Zio Cuitlahuatzin,' is the supposition of Clavigero, *Storia Mess.*, iii. 160. 'Se hizo temer de tal manera, que todos los suyos temblauan dél.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 112. For fanciful portraits of these last two emperors, see *Frost's Pict. Hist. Mex.*, 104, 114.

[22] *Ixtlilxochitl*, loc. cit.; *Torquemada*, i. 570.

[23] 'Al que solo fue causa q̃ los Christianos se conseruassen en aquella tierra.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xix.

champion. He died exhorting his family and friends to obey Cortés and his brethren, the destined rulers of the land, and to accept their god, who had given victory over the idols.[24] It was fortunate that he did not die before Spanish prestige had been reëstablished by the Tepeaca campaign; for his friendship sufficed to confirm the allies in their adhesion, to gain for the Spaniards further coöperation, and to obtain for them a firm footing in the country.

The allied forces had become so numerous by the time Itzucan fell that they were absolutely unmanageable, and on returning from this place to Tepeaca Cortés dismissed them with friendly words to their homes, retaining only the tried Tlascaltecs, who had become efficient in the European style of warfare under the Spanish discipline and tactics.[25]

Before the Quauhquechollan expedition summoned him away, Cortés had begun a report to the emperor on the condition of affairs. On returning, he completed this his second and perhaps most interesting letter, dated at Segura de la Frontera, or Tepeaca, October 30, 1520, wherein are related the occurrences since the despatch of the first letter in the middle of July, a year before. "I write your Majesty," it states, "although poorly told, the truth of all that has happened in these parts, and that which your Majesty has most need of knowing. With the aid of God the conquest is progressing in this new country, which from its similarity to Spain, in fertility, extent, temperature, and many other things, I have called La Nueva España del Mar Océano." Then he proceeds to humbly beg his majesty to confirm this name. In a brief supplementary letter he asks the emperor

[24] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 118; *Herrera*, ubi sup.

[25] During the absence of the troops, says Herrera, a part of the Tepeacans had formed a plot to surprise them when divided; but some women informed Marina in time to prevent trouble. Cortés inflicted on them severe chastisement. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xvi. xviii.

to send a person of confidence to investigate and prove the truth of his statements.[26]

[26] The reports and other papers by Cortés, written during a period of nearly three decades in connection with New Spain, are both numerous and lengthy, but only the five letters relating to the actual conquest of Mexico and Central America have achieved bibliographic celebrity, under the title of *Cortés' Letters or Relations.* Although the first letter has been lost, and the companion letter long missing, yet an allusion to the expedition against Mexico appeared as early as 1520 in *Ein auszug ettlicher sendbrieff dem aller durchleüchtigisten grossmechtigistē Fürsten....von wegen einer new gefundē Inseln. Nürmberg durch Fryderichen Peypus am. 17. tag Marcij MDXX.*, wherein the voyages of Córdoba and Grijalva are also described. Harrisse, *Bib. Am. Vet.*, 179, assumes that the information is taken from Peter Martyr's *Decades.* A later brief reference to the city of Mexico itself is given in *Translationuss hispanischer sprach zü Frantzösisch gemacht so durch dē Vice Rey in Neapole fraw Margareten Hertzogiñ iñ Burgundi zü geschrieben*, published in 1522. On folio A. iii. is written: Not far from the same island they have conquered a city called Tenustitan, wherein 60,000 hearths have been counted, within a good wall. The letter of the ayuntamiento was first published in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i., 1842.

By the time of the receipt in Spain of Cortés' second letter, of October 30, 1520, the general and his conquest had become so famous that his communications were not likely to be lost sight of. The incidents treated of were besides highly enticing, particularly the victories in Tlascala, the entry into Montezuma's wonderful island city, the disastrous expulsion, and the renewal of the campaign, and Cromberger had it printed in 1522 under the title of *Carta de relaciõ ẽbiada a su. S. majestad del ẽpador nõo señor por el capitã general dela nueua españa: llamado fernãdo cortes*, etc. *Seuilla: por Jacobo crõberger aleman. A viii. dias de Nouiẽbre. Año de M. d. y xxij.* 'Fué las Primicias de el Arte de la Imprenta en Sevilla, y acaso de toda España,' observes Lorenzana, in *Cortes, Hist. N. España*, 171, but this is a great mistake, for printing had been done already for several decades in Spain. An Italian abstract of the letter appeared immediately after, as *Noue de le Isole & Terra ferma Nouamente trouate In India per el Capitaneo de larmata de la Cesarea Maiestate. Mediolani decimosexto calẽ. Decembris M.D.XXII.* A reprint of the Seville text was issued at Saragossa in January, 1523. A later abridged account of the conquest is given in *Ein schöne Newe zeytung so Kayserlich Mayestet auss India yetz newlich zükommen seind*, ascribed to Sigmund Grimm of Augsburg, about 1522. *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana* and *Harrisse.* Ternaux-Compans wrongly supposes the narrative to extend only to 1519, instead of 1522, and assumes the imprint to be Augsburg, 1520. *Bibl. Amér.*, 5. Perhaps 1523 is the more correct date, which may also be ascribed to *Tréssacree Imperiale et catholique mageste...eust nouuelles des marches ysles et terre ferme occeanes.* Colophon, fol. 16. *Depuis sont venues a su mageste nouuelles de, certaiẽs ysles trouuez p les espagnolz plaines despecerie et beaucop de mines dor, lesqlles nouuelles il receupt en ceste ville de vailladolid le primier doctobre xv. cent. xxij.* This is a book noticed by no bibliographer except Sabin, who believes that it contains only the second letter, although the holder supposes the third letter to be also used. In 1524 appeared the first Latin version of the second letter, by Savorgnanus, *Praeclara Ferdinãdi Cortesii de Noua maris Oceani Hyspania Narratio, Norimberga. M.D.XXIIII.*, which contains a copy of the now lost map of the Gulf of Mexico, and also a plan of Mexico City. In the same year two Italian translations of this version, by Liburnius, *La Preclara Narratione*, were printed at Venice, one by Lexona, the other by Sabio, yet both at the instance of Pederzani. The plan and map are often missing. Antonio, *Bib. Hisp. Nova*, iii. 375, mentions only Lexona's issue. A translation from Flavigny appeared in the *Portfolio*, Philadelphia, 1817. The originals of the second and other letters were, in the early part of the eighteenth century, 'en la Libreria de Don

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[33] Bernal Diaz names t
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Mex., pt. iii. 148.

[34] Cáceres also joined t
Clavigero names Ordaz a
principal. *Storia Mess.*, iii

[35] 'Para el camino de l
agros y ásperos, que confi
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ii. lib. x. cap. xvi.

maize country, which offered ample subsistence for a garrison. Although the punishment at first inflicted, by sacking and enslaving, had been severe, yet the treatment of the inhabitants became afterward so considerate that they themselves prayed for a continuance of Spanish protection.[36] Every circumstance, therefore, demanding a settlement, it was decided in council to found a villa in this same town, with the appropriate name of Segura de la Frontera, intended, as it was, to secure the frontier against the Mexicans. Pedro de Ircio was made alcalde, with Francisco de Orozco and others as regidores.[37]

The campaign being practically concluded, a division was ordered to be made of the spoils not hitherto distributed, including slaves, which had now become a prominent feature thereof, and were intended for personal and plantation service, as already practised in the Antilles. The pretence was to enslave only the inhabitants of districts concerned in the murder of Spaniards, but the distinction was not very strictly observed, and rebellious tribes and those addicted to cannibalism and other vicious practices were included.[38] The Spaniards, as a rule, kept only the women and the children, the men being transferred to the allies for their share, "because they were difficult to watch,"

[36] 'Le auian pedido presidio.' *Id.* Cortés gives merely the strategic motives.

[37] Francisco de Solis, Cristóbal Corral, and Cristóbal Martin are mentioned as regidores in *Probanza de Lejalde*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 418–19. Herrera adds to their ranks Gerónimo de Aguilar, the interpreter, 'porque sabia Cortes honrar...los benemeritos.' dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xvi. The villa was removed after the conquest to a new site in the plain, not far from the old town. In 1545 it received the dignity of a city, and has ever since ranked as a district seat, supported to some extent by woollen factories. Of the strong fortress erected by the conquerors the remains are still to be seen in the plaza under the name of el Rollo de Tepeaca. *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, ii. 8; and in *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 145–6. In *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xxi. is given a description of the city and district. *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 153; *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro*, i. 248; *Alcedo*, in *Dic. Univ.*, v.

[38] 'Tambien me movió á facer los dichos esclavos por poner algun espanto á los de Culúa, y porque tambien hay tanta gente, que si no ficiese grande y cruel castigo en ellos, nunca se emendarian.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 144; *Oviedo*, iii. 334. 'Otros dizen que sin partido los tomo a todos, y castigo asi aquellos en véganca, y por no auer obedecido sus requerimiẽtos, por putos, por ydolatras,' etc. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 168.

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[39] *Hist. Verdad.*, 116. This was
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Tecamachalco region the males, 2
blood. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 59. P
that a few were killed to expiate th
given to the Tlascaltecs.

[40] 'Saluo a las mugeres y niños
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Nat. Civ., iv. 370. 'Creyero, q̃ a
ciarian que tantos pesos valian, y q
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been the case.

[41] 'Mandò Cortes vender a mu
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otro quinto para Cortez,' adds Ve
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at Mexico was again called up, an
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cause for dissatisfaction had been
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open to the soldiers on the eve of t
the possessor. Many refused to com
had shared in the treasure, the pro
been surrendered Cortés kept as a

proper value, and to give all members of the expedition an equal chance in securing the more desirable.[42]

One of the last expeditions fitted out at Segura was for the reduction of the northern route to Villa Rica, by which the Spaniards had first entered the plateau, and for the punishment of those concerned in the murder of Alcántara and other Spaniards.[43] It set out in the beginning of December, under Sandoval, with two hundred infantry, twenty horses, and the usual complement of allies, and entered Xocotlan valley, which readily submitted, with the exception of the main town, named Castilblanco during the first entry into the country. The cacique, who had then already shown himself unfriendly, rejected every proposition, with the threat that he would make a feast on the commander and his followers, as he had on the former party. There being no alternative, the cavalry charged the large force which had taken up position near a ravine, on the outskirts of the city, with a view to defend the entrance. Under cover of the musketeers and archers, who from one side of the ravine did considerable harm to the enemy, the charge succeeded, though four riders and nine horses were wounded, one of the latter dying. The enemy thrown into disorder fled to join the remaining garrison, which occupied the temples on the plaza. With the aid of the infantry and allies the stronghold speedily fell, and a number of prisoners were secured.[44]

Proceeding northward along the mountain border of the plateau Sandoval added a considerable extent of country to his conquest, meeting serious opposition

[42] 'Buenas, ò malas Indias, sacallas al almoneda...que se venderia.' *Id.* This was to be done at the next distribution in Tezcuco. The proceeding was discussed at length in Spain, and favored also by a large body of the clergy, as justifiable; but the emperor took the humane course of allowing captives to be held only as prisoners, so long as this was absolutely necessary. *Solis, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 233.

[43] The party commissioned to carry the Villa Rican share of the Aztec treasure from Tlascala to the coast. Bernal Diaz intimates that another party of nine were killed at Xocotlan. *Hist. Verdad.*, 115–16.

[44] The bodies of five of the Spaniards here murdered had been sent to Mexico, the rest eaten.

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[18] 'Prometimos todos
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store confidence, however, and win the inhabitants to his purposes, he saw that there should be a recognized head, with influence to control them, and one whom he could trust. The former necessity demanded that the choice should be made among the brothers of Cohuanacoch, children of Nezahualpilli, and of these Ixtlilxochitl and Tecocoltzin were the only professed friends of the Spaniards. The latter was of less legitimate birth, it seems, than some of the brothers, and a mere youth, who had shared the *quasi* captivity of Cuicuetzcatl, and had accepted baptism with the name of Fernando Cortés de Monroy.[28] He was tall and well formed, of noble presence, and as fair as the average Spaniard. Of docile disposition, he had readily conformed to the teachings of the friars, had adopted Spanish ideas, and had become a favorite among the conquerors. It may be readily understood that this easily ruled boy should be preferred by Cortés to Ixtlilxochitl, whose stay in Tezcuco during the troublous times had not tended to strengthen Spanish confidence.

Cortés summoned the chiefs and represented that since Cohuanacoch had forfeited any claims that he might have had to the throne, by murdering the lawfully elected king and by abandoning his country, they should therefore choose another ruler. He took care that his selection should become known to them, and the electors hastened to conform to the

[28] *Real Cédula, 1551.* In this cédula are named a number of the brothers, but the pagan name is not given in every instance. Bernal Diaz and Torquemada confirm this baptismal name for the ruler now appointed; Cortés writes merely Fernando; Ixtlilxochitl adds Tecocoltzin; Sahagun gives the latter name and calls him legitimate, as he was in a certain sense. *Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 143. Clavigero calls him Fernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl; Chimalpain interpolates De Alvarado in lieu of Cortés, but substitutes Tecocoltzin for Ixtlilxochitl in one place. *Hist. Conq.*, 21, 55. Vetancurt evidently accepts the true name, but applies the baptism and appointment to Ixtlilxochitl. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 152. The latter, who succeeded to the Tezcucan rulership toward the end of 1521, received the name of Fernando Pimentel, and it is this similarity of the first name that has led to the pretty general confusion about the appointee. Lockhart actually attempts to rectify the correct statement of Bernal Diaz with a blunder, *Memoirs*, ii. 411; and Zamacois, in doing the same with the blundering Solis, gives a long note amusingly erroneous. *Hist. Méj.*, iii. 585.

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No hostile demonstration having occurred for eight days after the entry into Tezcuco, Cortés resolved to waste no further time in preparation, but to begin the campaign. This course was also needed to maintain the troops in activity, to encourage them with spoils, and to save the friendly Tezcucans from the constant drain of providing supplies. Among the intended head-quarters during the siege of Mexico to follow was the rich and beautiful garden city of Iztapalapan, close to the southern entrance of the capital. This was an advantageous point, through which a blow might be dealt the Mexicans while chastising the town itself for the hostility of its inhabitants and their late ruler, Cuitlahuatzin, the brother and successor of Montezuma. The expedition consisted of eighteen horse and two hundred foot, with a few thousand Tlascaltecs and Tezcucans,[31] headed by Cortés, Sandoval remaining in charge of the camp.

Warned by the movement, the inhabitants began to remove their families and valuables, while the warriors marched along the lake shore for nearly two leagues to meet and detain the invaders, supported by Aztec forces and a fleet of canoes. As soon as the Spaniards came up a lively skirmish ensued, the warriors being obliged to retreat, though slowly, rallying at times, when the nature of the ground permitted.[32] Three hours of fighting brought them near the town, and a final assault by the soldiers effected an entrance and forced the warriors to take refuge in canoes and houses. The first comers occupied the upper quarters, the others continued their course toward the lake, where the dwellings stood on piles, cutting down every person encountered in the streets. General massacre was followed by pillage, and before nightfall six thousand bodies were ready for the funeral

[31] Bernal Diaz differs somewhat, and gives the proportion of forces, attended also by Alvarado and Olid. *Hist. Verdad.*, 121. The Tlascaltecs numbered about 4000, and the Tezcucans, according to Ixtlilxochitl, from 4000 to 6000.

[32] Gomara assumes that they sought to allure the Spaniards into the town. *Hist. Mex.*, 179.

pyre.[32] Suddenly midst the work of destruction Cortés observed startling signs of increasing waters, and soon after a Tezcucan brought word that the dike shielding the town on the west had been cut. In their desperation the inhabitants had invoked the flood, whose mercy could not be more pitiless than the invaders, while it might assist the work of revenge.[34]

The opening was widening every moment. No time was to be lost. The recall was sounded, but with the people so scattered it took some time to gather them. Staggering under the weight of spoil they fell into line, their march being dimly lighted by the flames behind them. The flood increased so much that few of them could retain their burdens, and near the opening the water came with such force as to make the passage difficult. Several of the allies were swept away. It was nine o'clock before the last of the troops gained the high land beyond the dike. "A delay of three hours longer, and none of us would have escaped," writes Cortés. Failing in their desperate sacrifice to catch the invaders in the flooded houses, there to be imprisoned all night by the rushing waters, the enemy were at hand in canoes with early dawn, showering missiles and sallying against the flanks of the invaders. The Spaniards could only reply with sword and lance, for the powder was wet, and since nothing more could be done under the circumstances, they continued the retreat to Tezcuco. A number of allies fell, and even the soldiers, who had suffered no casualties in the capture of Iztapalapan, now lost one out of their ranks.[35]

Notwithstanding the loss of booty and the humiliating retreat, the expedition had succeeded in its

[32] So estimated by Cortés and others. Herrera reduces it to 5000.

[34] Cortés states that he saw men cutting the dike as he entered the town, but did not consider the significance until the water rose and recalled it to him. *Cartas*, 174.

[35] So says Cortés, while Bernal Diaz assumes that two men and one horse were lost, he himself receiving so severe a wound in the throat as to become an invalid for some time. *Hist. Verdad.*, 121. Solís refers to the affair as a glorious victory.

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fleet impelled by human agencies over mountain and plain, through forest and dale, it was indeed a "cosa maravillosa," as Cortés expresses it. The feat of Vasco Nuñez stood repeated, but magnified in some respects, in the number of the vessels, in the distance of the journey, the lurking foe being ever present, and in the audacity of purpose, the subjugation of the proudest metropolis on all this vast continent. And great was the rejoicing at Tezcuco as the caravan came in sight on the fourth day, arrayed in gala attire, with brightly gleaming devices and ornaments, and waving plumage, advancing in one long line to inspiring music. With a large retinue, also in gala dress, Cortés went forth to meet them, and as the procession passed into the city the Tlascaltecs rolled forth their newly acquired Spanish vivas: "Viva el Emperador!" "Viva Malinche!" "Castilla!" "Tlascala, Tlascala, Castilla!" The march past occupied six hours, says Cortés. Ship-yards were prepared for the vessels on the border of a creek or irrigation canal, which had been deepened and widened for nearly half a league, fortified in places with timber and masonry, and provided with dams and locks. This labor had occupied eight thousand Tezcucans fifty days.[49]

[49] 'Hizieron la quatro cientos mil hombres.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 191. That is, 8000 fresh men daily for 50 days, to judge by the figure. Ixtlilxochitl fails not to adopt a number which speaks so well for the size of his province. *Hist. Chich.*, 307; *Relaciones*, 416. 'La zanja tenia mas de dos estados de hondura y otros tantos de anchura, y iba toda chapada y estacada.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 206. Bustamante claims to have seen traces of it, *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 66–7, as did Lorenzana in his time. *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 234. For the caulking of the vessels cotton was also used, and for want of grease, human fat was obtained from slain enemies, writes Gomara. Oidor Zuazo was assured of this pagan consecration for the fleet. This has been denied by others, observes Oviedo, iii. 423–4; but there is nothing improbable in a partial use thereof, for human fat had been frequently used in other cases, as Cortés admits. Additional timber was obtained in Tolantzinco, says Ixtlilxochitl.

town situated on an island in the northern end of the lake bearing that name. Once the capital successively of a Toltec, Otomí, and Chichimec principality, it had succumbed to the vicissitudes of political revolution and wars, and was at present one of the chief strongholds belonging to the tripartite power in the valley. It was approached by a causeway provided with breastworks and drawbridges.

The intention of the army had been surmised, so that preparations were made in every direction to resist an entry, and the water swarmed with canoes. In advancing along the causeway a tempest of stones, arrows, and darts came upon them from both sides, while hampered on a narrow road, hemmed in by the waters, and able to do little against the floating enemy, who were comparatively safe behind the bulwarks fitted to their canoes. Advance was soon stopped by the first trench in the causeway, not only wide and deep, but protected on the farther side by strong breastworks. The situation was embarrassing. Falling back a little, with the loss of one man, the guns were brought forward to protect the allies while filling the gap; but at this juncture two Tezcucans informed Cortés that they could guide him across by a fordable passage.

The offer was eagerly accepted, and while a part of the forces attracted the foe to the causeway, and the horses covered the rear, Cortés led another party by the ford. The water reached only to the waist, and though the enemy hastened forward, resistance was in vain, and soon the town was reached, and all who had not escaped immediately surrendered. Good spoils were secured of fabrics and other merchandise, as well as some gold. Since the canoe fleet might attempt a night attack, it was not considered safe to camp on the island, and as the army withdrew to the plain one league beyond, a part of the town was fired, in further warning. Xaltocan had more than once before risen from her ashes, but these were the flames

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from both sides for their bravery, skill, and strength, the struggles were eagerly watched.

On one occasion a solitary warrior of great stature stepped from a canoe to the causeway, armed with sword and shield, and challenged any Spaniard to combat, for he desired to appease the gods with blood. The soldiers gaped in astonishment at this rashness. "What, you hesitate, you cowards!" he cried. The next instant a soldier named Gonzalo Hernandez rushed upon him with sword and shield, whereupon he leaped into the water, pursued by the soldier, who sought to despatch him. A number of canoes stole up, however, and Hernandez was seized by the warriors. His comrades rushed to the rescue, and so beset the canoes as to kill a chief and bring their champion ashore.[7] During one of the sallies Cortés reached the breach in the causeway where his men had suffered so severely during the Sorrowful Night. The bridge was down, and he appealed to the warriors on the other side: "Why so foolishly court destruction? If there is a leader among you, let him appear, so that I may speak." "Speak," was the response, "we are all leaders here; leaders who shall make a banquet of thee and thine!"

Six days had been spent at Tlacopan, and since nothing could be achieved, not even an interview with Quauhtemotzin, for which Cortés ardently longed, he turned homeward. This abandonment of what the Mexicans had probably regarded as the beginning of the siege created no small exultation among them, and eagerly they pursued the retreating army, though repelled now and then with some punishment by the cavalry. The following day the pursuing forces had swelled to larger proportions, and were more daring than ever. Cortés accordingly ordered the infantry to advance, while he, with twenty horses, divided into several parties and formed an ambuscade. No sooner

[7] *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. i. cap. vii.

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[8] They begged permission to return home, says
i. 31. Herrera relates that the efforts of Ojeda, by C
the Tlascaltecs the gold part of their booty so offend
to desert. The extortion was accordingly stopped.
Clavigero doubts the story. Prescott regards the d
distasteful to Cortés; but we have seen that he did n
cumber himself with too many unruly auxiliaries t
provinces. The Tlascaltecs would willingly have re
ing expeditions.

among them Tápia and Osma, while others were overthrown by the concussion and came tumbling down. With cheering Santiagos the soldiers urged one another onward until even the Chalcans joined the assault. The first Spaniard had hardly reached the summit before the occupants attempted flight, only to bring death upon them the quicker. Many were chased over the cliff, to fall into equally relentless hands below; others in their fear and despair cast themselves headlong from the height. So freely flowed blood, the soldiers say, that the creek at the foot of the fortress was stained sanguine, and so remained for an hour, repelling in horror the victors who approached it to quench their thirst.[12] The Chalcans being now content, Sandoval returned to Tezcuco with considerable spoils and a number of pretty slaves.

Informed of the victorious advance of the Spaniards, Emperor Quauhtemotzin hastened to send reinforcements to his garrisons, and hardly had Sandoval tendered a report to his general before the alarmed Chalcans sent messengers stating that a fleet of two thousand large canoes with numerous warriors were descending upon them. Believing that Sandoval must have been too hasty or negligent, Cortés without deigning to listen to excuses ordered him to return immediately. Meanwhile the Chalcans, encouraged by the allies, had faced the invaders bravely and routed them in a fierce battle, killing quite a number and capturing over twoscore warriors, among them the general and several chiefs.[13] When Sandoval

[12] 'Que todos los que allí se hallaron afirman.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 190. The general lauds the achievement with rare fervor for him. Bernal Diaz sneers at the river of blood story; but then he was not present to share the glory. The Roman Mario was less dainty than these Spaniards under a similar circumstance, commemorated by Plutarch; or as Floro more prosaically puts it: 'Ut victor Romanus de cruento flumine non plus aquæ biberit quam sanguinis barbarorum.' *Epitome*, lib. iii. cap. iii.

[13] Fifteen, says Bernal Diaz. Chimalpain, the Chalcan narrator, states that his tribe lost 350 men, but killed 1500 foes, capturing the captain-general, Chimalpopocatzin, a relative of the emperor, who now became a captain among the Tezcucans, and was killed during the siege. *Hist. Conq.*, ii. 34. Some of these facts are evidently not very reliable. He also assumes that Sandoval lost eight soldiers on again returning to Tezcuco.

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[14] The 'comissario' or clerk i
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names several of the arrivals, so
number also arrived during the
Búrgos' vessel, which brought mu

of Villa Rica, laden as usual with presents.[15] Another pleasing evidence of still more devoted loyalty came not long after from the south, from the country of the valiant Chinantecs, of the long pikes. During the great uprising, when Spaniards in small or straggling parties had everywhere been slaughtered, this people faithfully protected the two soldiers who happened to be with them, and were in return aided by their prowess and advice to achieve victories over adjoining tribes. One of these men, Captain Hernando de Barrientos, sent two natives in April with a letter to his countrymen imparting the assurance that Chinantla and its six sub-towns were loyal.[16]

The recent successes and the arrival of the two hundred men induced Cortés once more to propose peace to Quauhtemotzin. To this end, during passion week, he bade some of the captured nobles proceed to Mexico with a letter as a symbol of their commission, and impress upon their master the superiority in arms and skill of the Spanish forces, their constant and large reinforcements, and their unvarying success in the field. They must point out the generous and humane treatment of the provinces which had submitted, and assure the Aztec leaders that equal forgiveness would be accorded them. Refusal to return to their allegiance would lead to the destruction of themselves and their city. Only two of the captives ventured to accept the commission, for according to Aztec articles of war any noble who returned to his country after having been captured by an enemy was doomed to decapitation unless he had performed some extraordinary deed.[17]

No answer came from Mexico, and it was afterward

[15] Gomara mentions also Maxcaltzinco as a distant place. *Hist. Mex.*, 186.

[16] The chiefs were awaiting orders to appear before Cortés. The general told them to wait till tranquillity was more fully restored. The name of the other soldier was Nicolás. *Cortés, Cartas*, 203–5. Herrera assumes that Barrientos arrived in camp during the late Tepeaca campaign. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xvii.

[17] Of the rank and file none suffered penalty on returning, for captivity was regarded as disgraceful only to a noble. *Native Races*, ii. 419.

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hardly inferior to those of the Iztocan campaign, when over one hundred thousand moved against the foe. Highly picturesque was the spectacle of this army, its naked hordes of warriors relieved by plumage and glittering iztli points which rose above the broad line of gaudy shields; its white adventurers in mail of cotton and metal, surmounted by bright helmets, and armed knights on proudly stepping steeds: picturesque in particular as it wound in almost endless line along the rounded slopes of the cliffs, or climbed in clearly defined file across the hill-tops, only to descend again into gulches gloomy as their own sinister purpose.

Alarmed by the invasion, the inhabitants had abandoned their valley homes, and had sought refuge on the summits, whence they hurled missiles at the passing lines. Little attention was paid these irregular bands, composed as they were to a great extent of women and children. On entering the Tlayacapan Valley, however, and observing on the craggy sides of an almost perpendicular isolated rock, perched there like an eagle's nest, a place of refuge peopled with more pretentious opposers, in a fit of insensate folly Cortés ordered the place to be assailed. He seemed to think the honor of the army demanded it, and was ready to stake the lives of valuable men on its destruction.

Orders were given to attack from three several sides, the steepest being assigned to Alférez Corral, a brave and spirited leader. Verdugo and Villafuerte were given another side, and Ircio and Monjaraz the third. Each party consisted of about threescore men, and included archers and arquebusiers. At a given signal all rushed forward to the ascent. Soon they were on hands and knees, crawling over projections and pulling themselves up by means of shrubs. All the while stones and darts rattled on helmet and breastplate; and huge rocks came rolling down upon them. In vain they sought shelter in crevices and under crags; they must face the storm. Bernal Diaz followed Corral, and after receiving

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[23] *Cartas*, 196; *Torquemad*
[24] Some write Xilotepec.
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[26] See *Native Races*, v.

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Most of the fugitives had gathered
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[29] 'El vno se quebró la pierna...y se me desvanec
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Solis misinterprets the passage, and gives this author
party. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 362. Vetancurt calls the dist
Amanalco. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 155.

fortresses in the country, would find no difficulty in reaching them anywhere; therefore, after listening to the advice of messengers sent by Cortés, Yohuatzin concluded to surrender, and presented himself on the following day with a large retinue and rich presents. The Mexicans were as usual blamed for the opposition offered. He would have submitted before, but thought it best to expiate the fault of resistance by allowing the Spaniards to pursue, so that after spending their fury they might be more ready to forgive.[30]

There was no time at present to extend the reconnoissance farther in this direction, and after a brief rest Cortés turned northward to the lakes. The route over the mountains proved far more difficult than before, and after issuing from the pine forest the army entered a desert country terminating in a three-league pass through the Ajuzco Mountains. Here thirst became so intense that several natives succumbed.[31] This suffering was relieved in a hamlet not far from the pass.

On the following day they passed through a fine and cultivated country toward Xochilmilco, that is to say, Field of Flowers, aptly named, for round almost every house, particularly on the outskirts, was a flower-garden enclosed by canals. Many of them were of the chinampa class, or floating gardens,[32] the outgrowth of early Aztec weakness, now forming a picturesque border to the lake towns. Altogether the aspect was most pleasing, while the buildings of the central parts were artistic and striking. Besides the strength added by canals and moats, pile buildings were frequent, and intrenchments had been thrown

[30] *Cortés, Cartas*, 196. Ixtlilxochitl assumes that the submission is tendered through his namesake, as prince of Tezcuco, the only capital of the tripartite empire loyal to the Spaniards. *Hor. Crueldades*, 17–18.

[31] Also one old Spaniard, believes Bernal Diaz, who relates his own sufferings minutely, and how he followed some mounted scouts in search of water, which he found, bringing a supply to Cortés. *Hist. Verdad.*, 133. Vetancurt names this watering-place Topilejo, now San Miguel. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 155. Chimalpain mentions Quauhxômolco, just before. *Hist. Conq.*, ii. 40.

[32] See *Native Races*, ii., 345.

up and drawbridges ra
against any enemy of th
queen city was fully as
It was the most importa
fresh-water lake. Bish
were heard to sing pr
when it was converted.
issued by the Spaniard
they attacked in thre
proaches. The enemy
bridges and intrenchme
steady volley. The arc
briskly, and covered th
very deep water and
fortifications. This effe
one retreat to another.
sought to parley, but t
garding it as a trick to
their families and pro
the greater part of the
allies were sacking as t
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Not long after, a bod
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advancing from the rear
were already close at h
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At first they boldly f
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their ranks and then tu
movement proved decis
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the horse of Cortés b

[33] *Lorenzana*, in *Cortés, Hist. N*
[34] Six, says Cortés.

must be employed more manfully, and, these failing, the loyal ones must let their nails grow, as the last means of protection. The first step should be the recovery of Xochimilco. That very night two thousand canoes were sent with some twelve thousand warriors, and a similar force by land, all approaching stealthily, without music.[36]

The rumor of a probable night attack kept the Spanish camp on the alert, and advised of this, the enemy made no attack. At dawn their canoes were already swarming round the city, the inmates rending the air with loud and repeated shouts, and brandishing their weapons, those of the chiefs being captured Spanish swords. "With your own arms you shall be killed, and we will eat you!" they cried. "We fear you not, for Montezuma is dead!" At the same time the land forces were seen approaching, evidently to assist the fleet in besieging the Spaniards within the city, which would give the Mexicans greater advantage, as they had well learned during the siege of Mexico. Cortés understood the manœuvre, and leaving the greater part of the infantry and allies to guard the city, he sallied with most of the horse, in three parties, a few of the infantry and several hundred Tlascaltecs, breaking through the enemy's ranks and gaining the foot of a hill in their rear, the Tepechpan.

While the enemy were rallying, Cortés led the horse round to their denser flank, and gave orders to the infantry to allure the Mexicans by climbing the steepest part of the hill and pretending to escape. This succeeded, and the next moment they were attacked in several directions with such effect as to cause a panic and drive them in flight toward a quarter where one division of horse had taken a stand. Five hundred Mexicans covered the field and five leaders were among the captured, while the Spanish loss was

[36] Followed by other bodies. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 134; *Torquemada*, i. 537.

a "remedy, since, besides the scandal, it was evident that all the Spaniards must perish if once they turned one against the other; and to this end not only declared foes but allies would join."[47]

Attended by Sandoval and others, Cortés hastened to the house of the accused and found several persons assembled. Some were secured as they sought escape. Villafañe found time to take a paper from his breast and tear it in pieces, but Cortés gathered and arranged them,[48] and was grieved to read the names of quite a number of promising persons whom he had honored and regarded as friends. Villafañe confessed the details of the plot, which had been forming since the Tepeaca campaign. A court-martial was held, presided over by Cortés himself, and there being no doubt of his guilt, the accused was condemned to death and promptly hanged from the window of his dwelling.[49]

Cortés had probably no doubt regarding the guilt of the persons named on the list, but the prosecution of so many notable men might not be prudent, and would only widen the breach between himself and the malcontents and gain them sympathy. The day following the execution the general called a meeting. Many were the consciences that pricked their possessors to trembling on that occasion. But the sage Cortés preferred the traitors should risk their necks in winning for him Mexico, rather than himself to break them with a rope.

[47] Such are in substance the words used by Cortés in his relation to the emperor. 'E cómo yo vi que se me habia revelado tan gran traicion, dí gracias á nuestro Señor, porque en aquello consistia el remedio.' *Cartas*, 269.

[48] So Cortés intimates, while Herrera states that Villafañe hastened to devour the paper. His throat being pressed, about half of it was rescued. dec. iii. lib. i. cap. i. He further says that Sandoval was sent to make the arrest; but Bernal Diaz asserts that Cortés went in person, which is likely under the circumstances, and took from Villafañe's breast the paper. Finding thereon so many names of quality he caused it to be rumored that the man had eaten it, or part of it. *Hist. Verdad.*, 136–7. Clavigero assumes that the culprit revealed the names, and that Cortés preferred not to believe him. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 191. Torture failed to extort any names from him, writes Torquemada, i. 528, and those on the list he declared to be merely of men whom he intended to sound.

[49] 'Un alcalde y yo lo condenamos á muerte.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 269.

Napoleon, who in national warfare could open with his sword the veins of the people until there poured forth torrents of blood, shrank in horror from blood shed in civil broils. It was policy with Cortés, however. So, after finishing his narration of the conspiracy, he coolly informed them that Villafañe had refused to reveal his accomplices, and he could not therefore name the guilty. There were no doubt men amongst them with real or fancied grievances which may have induced them to harbor resentment; but let them frankly state their wrongs and he would seek to right them. If he had erred, let the error be named. The conclusion of the affair created general satisfaction. Thankful for their escape, the guilty sought both by words and deeds to prove their devotion, and although Cortés kept his eye upon them, there was no indication that he suspected any. He rather sought to win them back with favors.[50] So impressed were his intimate followers by the risk to which so valuable a life had been exposed that they insisted on his accepting a body-guard of twelve select men, under the command of Antonio de Quiñones, an hidalgo of Zamora,[51] who watched over him day and night.

[50] Bernal Diaz states that he frightened many by having them arrested and threatened with trial; probably those seized with Villafañe. Oviedo, iii. 515, mentions Escudero as executed for plotting; but this is doubtful. As for Verdugo, he became regidor of Mexico, and in 1529 alcalde. He afterward joined Guzman's expedition and settled at Tonalá in Jalisco. *Razon*, in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 363.

[51] This was Cortés' own idea, says Bernal Diaz, and he appealed to us to guard him. *Hist. Verdad.*, 137. Quiñones was succeeded by Francisco de Tenesas [Terrazas]. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 313.

CHAPTER XXXII.

INVESTMENT OF MEXICO.

MAY–JUNE, 1521.

PHASES OF HEROISM—THE BRIGANTINES UPON THE LAKE—DIVISION OF FORCES BETWEEN ALVARADO, SANDOVAL, AND OLID—DESERTION, CAPTURE, AND EXECUTION OF XICOTENCATL—DEPARTURE OF THE TROOPS FROM TEZCUCO—NAVAL BATTLE—POSSESSION TAKEN OF THE CAUSEWAYS—AT ONE POINT CORTÉS UNEXPECTEDLY GAINS ENTRANCE TO THE CITY—BUT IS DRIVEN OUT.

THE ideal heroic character is to be viewed from two standpoints: the effect of heroism on the hero, and on the world. A very bad person may do mankind a great service. An evil-minded man, while sinking his soul yet deeper in corruption, may bring benefactions upon society. But even a fairly good man cannot increase his innate nobleness of character while doing injury to his fellows.

I do not know that the claim of good man was ever advanced for Hernan Cortés, except, indeed, by that strange fanaticism which, dazzled by one object, fails to see other objects, or the terrible means for their attainment. He and his followers formed a sad mixture of good and evil, in which the latter predominated, if judged by the moral standard which they had formed for themselves as soldiers of the cross. The grossest injustice, the most horrible wickedness constituted part of their moral ideal, so that while fighting for the highest morality they were the most immoral of men. Long after the conquest was consummated, under the ministrations of men of piety

waved high the banners of the different corps. Cortés went forth to meet them with grand demonstrations, and as they marched past loud vivas[6] rent the air.

On the 28th of April Cortés had mustered his forces and found that, with the several reënforcements lately arrived, there were present over nine hundred Spaniards, of whom eighty-six were horsemen and one hundred and eighteen cross-bowmen and arquebusiers;[7] the rest being armed with swords and shields and the more formidable pikes. They were well protected with cotton armor, many having cuirasses and corselets, and small weapons were not wanting. The artillery consisted of three heavy iron guns, fifteen smaller pieces of bronze, mostly distributed among the vessels, with ten quintals of powder and a quantity of shot, while some fifty thousand arrows had been furnished by the Tezcucan towns, all fitted according to pattern with copper tips.[8]

Not only had the Spaniards, particularly the new recruits, been well exercised in cavalry movements, target practice, fencing, and pike drill, but the allies had been trained to a certain extent in European tactics. For efficiency and good conduct this army rose far above any yet mustered in the Indies. In the usual speech before the ranks, Cortés pointed out how God had favored them with constant victories and with reënforcements which had nearly doubled their number and resources. They might indeed be hopeful, for holy was their cause. Full of confidence they could march against the only stronghold yet opposed to them, avenge their slaughtered comrades, and win riches and glory for themselves.

[6] 'Viua el Emperador nuestro señor, y Castilla, Castillo, Tlascala, Tlascala!' *Bernal Diaz*, loc. cit. It took three days for the auxiliaries to enter, says Ojeda, and great as was Tezcuco, there was not room for them. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xii. Bernal Diaz reduces the days to hours.

[7] *Cortés, Cartas*, 206. Gomara agrees, *Hist. Mex.*, 191, but Bernal Diaz gives the number as 84 horsemen, 650 soldiers with swords, shields, and lances, and 194 archers and arquebusiers. loc. cit.

[8] Some half a dozen towns furnished 8000 each within eight days. The feathers were fastened by the archers with glue from the *cactle* root. They kept two strings and as many catches, and maintained their skill by target practice. *Id.*

The following day
Alvarado and Olid we
for greater convenie
province and there av
hours after their depa
the announcement th
general of Chichimec
revealed that shortly l
been severely and war
a quarrel over some
soldier from the wrat
inspecting officer over
matter and sent the i
claimed by some that
Xicotencatl that he f
sumed that both chie
woman, and that Xic
his rival alone in the
no doubt in his disli
whom he had never
secret, as invaders be
whole country. This
more fixed with every
ambition, such as th
plucked from him his
haps superior position
Chichimecatl, of whon

Andrés de Monjaraz, the latte
32 years, always suffering fro
from doing anything. The thr
a growing favorite of Cortés', F
spirator of Villafañe, and Franc
estate-holder at Medina del Ca
sinuating Pedro de Ircio, and
dashing fellow, of Monjaraz' ag
and possessed of a voluble tong
gives a longer list, which is clea
names of native leaders. Alva
peticpac; Olid those of Ocotel
He further states that his nam
containing 50,000 Tezcucans, of
Brasseur de Bourbourg follows
what on the names. Herrera
Hernando de Lerma of Galicia.

young chief does not seem to have
the other rulers. Instantly on his
sentenced and hanged on a very hig
the crier and interpreter announced l

The execution of so prominent a
of the rulers among his best allies, w
few besides Cortés would have vent
saw the necessity for a firm observa
and was not deceived in the salutar
had on the allies.[12] There were not
left in Tezcuco, or a serious demonstr
occurred; as it was, the mantle and
ceased were secured, and an eager co
them as relics. Axayacatzin Xicoten
fame before the advent of the Spani

Alvarado and Olid had set out f
Tlacopan with their Spanish forces
May,[14] taking the same route by w
returned from the Xochimilco campa
longer than that north of Tezcuco
easier and safer. On approaching Ac
a party in advance to secure quarters,
rado arrived he found every house b
bough on the roof, which indicated o
raised a tumult between the partie
captains would have come to blows

[12] *Ojeda*, in *Herrera*, loc. cit.. Solis, *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 3
have been hazardous to hang him at Tezcuco, where
gathered; but he forgets that nearly all this people
Mexico. His supposition is based on Bernal Diaz, wh
not hanged in Tezcuco. Alvarado had pleaded for hi
pretending compliance, secretly ordered the alguacil
Verdad., 139.

[13] Cortés divided the lordship of the chieftain afte
sons, and the name of Xicotencatl has been perpet
line, as Camargo shows in his *Hist. Tlax.* Two offic
during the American invasion of 1847 in defence of
de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ., iv. 447.

[14] Most writers say the 10th, misled by an error in
this error causes Prescott, among others, to fall into
which he upholds with vain arguments. On earlier
given dates in connection with religious festivals wh
day fell on the 19th of May, and the departure took
Bernal Diaz gives the 13th, and says that the Xicote
them a day. He afterward varies the date.

to cover the breaches a
without success. The
great spirit, and their
not energetically assun
ing the two camps.

The Mexicans had r
of Cortés' delay and pı
they found two camps
stroyed, and earnest pı
vestment, their eyes
then too bewildered
precision. The chronic
held a grand council
to sound the spirit of
so that there might b
came. A number indee
particularly of the Mo
formidable enginery ar
and their host of allies,
With the occupation of
and the influx of peopl
might fall short, and fa
the young men and t
pected, would listen t
implied cowardice; the
ance, and formed too n
entertaining of peace pı
tiously refrained from

[16] 'Jamàs quisieron Paz [the A
el Rei no la aceptò, porque al
Torquemada, i. 572. Gomara say
dynasty, declares that he loved t
valor ever to listen to peace prop
lowing pages he gives a speech b
surrender. Before this, accordin
had invited Quauhtemotzin, und
order to explain his motives for t
the Aztec monarch came to the
barge, attended by several noble
viewed the allegiance tendered t
tated by Alvarado's effort to antici
slaughter of Spaniards and robl

therewith they threw in disjointed
human bodies. "We shall not rest t
desolated, and not a man or woman le
your vile race." Unabashed by this
caltecs told them not to threaten like
act like men. Still it were better fo
unless they wished to be destroyed.

Cortés had been delayed till the fleet
prepared. On the 31st of May, fo
Christi day, he was able to despatch
reënforced by some forty thousand alli
on the Chalco border, marched again
Although severely crippled by Cortés'
town still figured as a stronghold of
portance to be left in the rear. A
movement, the Mexicans hurried by
to aid in covering the retreat of t
Suddenly smoke columns were obser
parts of the lake, and cries of alarm r
town. Yet more and more hurriedly the
while one body of warriors retired alor
to Mexico, others departed in canoes.
forces pressed onward in close pursuit,
pillage, and torch accompanied them.
of the panic was the appearance of
which had set sail shortly after Sando
attended by a large number of Te
whose object was to coöperate again
On approaching it the vessels passed
rocky isle, the Tepepulco, since know
del Marqués,[19] occupied by a large num
who shouted defiance, and showered sto
Finding that Sandoval required no

[18] Ixtlilxochitl states in one place that his namesak
to raise troops and to arrange for regular trains of su
camps. In another relation he allows him to accompa
canoes. *Hor. Crueldades*, 21; *Relacion*, 314. The canoe
the fleet appear to have served chiefly as transports.

[19] Owned even under republican rule by the heirs of
quarry.

solved to inflict a lesson on the insolent islanders. The Mexicans appeared confident in the impregnable strength of the rock, and gave so warm a reception to the hundred and fifty men with whom Cortés began to climb it, that fully a score were wounded at the onset. The brigantines turned their guns upon them, however, and under this cover the soldiers speedily gained the summit, there to wreak bloody vengeance. Not a man was spared, only the women and children. "It was a beautiful victory!" exclaims Cortes.

While they were pillaging, a large fleet of canoes, five hundred at the lowest estimate,[20] was seen to approach from the direction of Mexico, bristling with iztli points, which found a gleaming reflection in the smooth waters of the lake. Cortés ordered an immediate return to the brigantines, and rowed them forward into an extended line. He had longed for an opportunity like this, to meet a formidable fleet upon which the brigantines might inflict a lesson severe enough to open the eyes of the enemy to their invincible power; for "in them lay the key of war," as he expressed it. Unfortunately the wind was so light as barely to flap the sails. The hostile fleet had already drawn up in good order just beyond range, evidently puzzled at the passive attitude of the monster vessels, yet shouting defiance.[21] Cortés stood chafing with impatience, for without wind his greatest advantage would be lost, and his position even become precarious. Just then the waters rippled and a breeze came from abaft which speedily freshened. "Ah, God favors us!" he cried, and with a grateful gaze toward heaven he gave orders to advance under full sail. As they came close to the enemy a blinding volley was sent pouring in upon them from the whole line, from guns, arque-

[20] *Cortés, Cartas*, 211. Bernal Diaz raises the number to 4000, Peter Martyr to 5000, while Vetancurt assumes that the 500 were merely the van. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 158.

[21] Oviedo writes that they were sacrificing boys to propitiate the gods. iii. 516. 'La flota q̃ les parecio no dar batalla con tan pocas y cansadas,' observes Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 194.

buses, and cross-bows
to recover from the
burst the ponderous
canoes, overturning,
vessels' wake were w
the few canoes which
the ships struggled
the rear. At the fir
ther lines turned in
number of others w
with reënforcements,
clumsy-looking vess
career of destruction
canals of the city, v
up captives. The vi
of the Spaniards, as
the Aztecs lose a g
warriors and their b
forever to the formi
lake waters, and with
trans-lacustrine allies

Encouraged by thi
and both hastened to
advance along the c
execution, impelled a
fresh courage.[22] Oli
Xoloc, which with i
towers guarded the
ways, when the brig
eastern side. It was
less Cortés landed t
and pursue the adv
made in the wall w
under cover of the f
carried. Cortés had
his head-quarters, b
tages of Xoloc, in st

[22] Alvarado advanced as fa
Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad., 1

Xoloc, arranging the
plies, during which ti
maintained, wherein S
wounds. The brigant
flicted great damage, er
distance a canal which
no longer ventured a
and the Mexicans b
proaches and channels

In order to complet
was only necessary to
to Tepeyacac, along w
steady intercourse wi
this neglect by Alva
doval to form a camp
and forty Spaniards,
horsemen, and a full
had half as many mor
alry, while two hund
Xoloc, supported besi
rear, and by Olid's p
largest proportion of a
according to Cortés' o
not hold them, and
Coyuhuacan, which la
and must be occupied
lake towns clustered i
carried at least two hu

Everything being p
taneous attack from a
attention of the Mexic
tage. He himself a

[23] Probably behind the great

[24] Gomara calls it wrongly X
enough, with Tezcuco. *Hist. A*

[25] *Cortés, Cartas*, 216–17. T
from their camp at Coyuhuacan
ging and similar work was don
the vessels of Flores and Ruiz
between the camps of Alvarado

those of cannon.[26] This filling of the chasms enabled the horses to be brought forward, and they now led the charge against the dense masses of natives, after the arquebuses had effected the preliminary clearing. Cortés had not underestimated the annoyance to be encountered from the archers and slingers covering the roofs on either side; but the operations of the cavalry left the many arquebusiers and cross-bowmen at liberty to cover the points of approach through which the allies in particular poured in countless numbers with side-arms and fire-brands. The progress so far had surpassed all anticipation; but now the Spaniards came to a canal from which the retreating Mexicans removed the few planks remaining of the bridge, leaving a solitary beam. Here the warriors were massed in greater confidence, free as they were from the attack of vessels and sheltered by strong intrenchments, while the adjoining roofs, equally protected by the canals, teemed with missile-throwers. The soldiers tried again and again to cross the chasm, only to be driven back with injury. The volleys from cross-bows and fire-arms could effect but little damage against the well sheltered warriors, while their arrows and stones came in rattling showers. Finally two cannon were brought forward. This changed the issue, for a breach was speedily made in the intrenchments, and now the small-arms were able to coöperate with great execution.

After a delay of two hours the soldiers were across; and while the allies filled the canal they again pursued their advance along the avenue, though suffering considerably from the roof missiles. They now came to the last channel in the street, close to the main plaza, wherein stood the famous temple of Huitzilopochtli.

The advance of the Spaniards had been so unexpected and rapid that the Mexicans had not thought of fortifying this canal, and little difficulty was met in crossing. But beyond, the plaza was filled with

[26] 'Asserrador...trabajò mas que mil Indios.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xviii.

files of defenders, determined to save their deities and that sacred ground. Greatly frightened, the priests cried out to them: "Behold! it was here upon this spot you fought these beings infernal before, and drove them forth in shameful flight; the gods will help you again!" Even the Spanish soldiers were impressed by the words and gestures of the frantic devotees, and noted their effect in the gleaming eyes and pressed lips of the warriors, and they paused. But presently a gun was brought forward and directed against the packed throng. This effected a backward movement. "There is no time for rest or fear!" shouted Cortés, as with shield in hand he rushed forward. With a thundering Santiago the soldiers followed. The charge was irresistible, and already startled by the mowing cannon-balls the Mexicans took refuge within the temple enclosure and in the by-streets.

The Spaniards followed the crowd within the sacred grounds, slashing and thrusting. It seemed a repetition of Alvarado's massacre, and the war-god, thirsting for blood, might now have his fill. In a few moments not a warrior was left round the temple, only prostrate bodies. Then the soldiers prepared to ascend the pyramid to hurl down the idol and its defenders. But the deity was aroused. The sombre notes of the sacred drum struck their fearful appeal on every heart, "Rouse ye to your imperilled hearths and temples!" It was but now the Mexicans observed that the death-dealing horsemen were not present, for the last channel had not yet been filled to afford a crossing. This lent them courage, and on the foe they quickly rushed from lanes and houses, while down from the temple-top came a doubly inspired avalanche. The shock was overwhelming. The Spaniards were forced to retire, partly in disorder. Cortés made frantic efforts to stay the flight, and at the gate a momentary rally was made by a few; but what availed that handful against the torrent sweeping

onward, headed by the renowned band of Quauhtin? Perforce they must yield and join the troops which were in such hasty flight from the plaza that they even abandoned the cannon. Cortés was on foot in the crowd, and his voice was drowned in the tumult. He could but follow with the wild current, which threatened to lead into another disaster. Just then cries of alarm burst from the crowds on the roofs, and there was a lull in the shower of stones and darts, and the pressure of pursuers relaxed. The next moment the ears of the wandering Spaniards caught the clatter of hoofs.

The cavalry had come up; a revulsion set in. They were but a few,[27] but enough to bring back to the minds of the Mexicans their original and ever present fear of the monsters, for they knew not how many might be coming down upon them.

The infantry followed the horsemen with inspiring cheers, and bore unresisted onward, for the late bravery of the foe was now turned to cowardice. Before long the Spaniards had penetrated through the plaza and occupied once more the temple court. Once more their looks were upward toward the summit of the lofty pyramid consecrated during their former occupation to the holy virgin; and while the main portion of the troops fought the now rallying Mexicans, a sturdy handful undertook the capture of the sanctuary. A dozen chiefs held possession, but naught could stay the fury of the soldiers, and in a few moments the last defender had yielded his spirit in defense of his faith.

The Spaniards looked in vain for any trace of their own altar and symbols, round which they had so oft congregated in prayer. In their stead rose a new idol glittering with ornaments and hideous with devices, while fresh stains of blood spread horror over all. The gleam of gold proved all absorbing, however, and hastily the jewels and the golden mask

[27] Only three, says Cortés and others.

were torn away, and then the head of the idol was struck off and sent clattering below.[28]

There was time for nothing more, for on finding so few horsemen present, the Quauhtin knights had again made an effective rally, pressing the troops closely. Fortunately a larger force of cavalry came up again to turn the tide of battle and inflict a severe lesson. As it was late by this time, there remained no choice but that of returning to camp. This movement gave fresh confidence to the Mexicans, who followed in swarms, harassing from roofs and lanes, on front and flanks, rushing forward with renewed fury after every charge by the cavalry which covered the rear. But for the horses the soldiers would have suffered severely; as it was, the retreat proceeded in good order, and as many houses as possible were fired with a view to make the next entry safer. On approaching the causeway the canoe crews, composed of selected warriors, fell on the flanks and created no little confusion before they were driven back. After this no difficulty was experienced in reaching camp, thanks to the foresight of Cortés, who had ordered the channels filled.[29] The other captains, Alvarado and Sandoval, had performed their share in the day's work, and although they do not appear to have reached even the suburb, detained by the many breaches and other obstacles on the causeways, yet the diversion created by their attacks

[28] Ixtlilxochitl allows his namesake and Cortés to figure in this scene, the former cutting off the idol's head while the general secured the mask. He states that the temple was captured during the first entry into the court. When the Mexicans rallied, Ixtlilxochitl managed to kill their general, which so enraged them that they rushed madly on and drove back the Spaniards till the horse arrived. *Hor. Crueldades*, 29–30. His version is adopted in the main by Prescott and others; but there are several discrepancies. The death of a general as a rule discouraged native armies. Cortés, who would not have failed to claim the overthrow of the idol, states that it was effected by four or five Spaniards, after the second capture of the court. *Cartas*, 218. His presence was needed below to direct operations. Gomara's text must have misled Ixtlilxochitl and others. *Hist. Mex.*, 197–8. Herrera and Torquemada adhere better to Cortés.

[29] Cortés speaks of an ambuscade by the horsemen wherein 30 Mexicans fell. *Cartas*, 218. How many of his own were lost he prudently abstains from mentioning, though admitting many wounded. 'Dexaron perdido los Españoles esta vez el tiro grueso,' says Torquemada, i. 548, but this is unlikely.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE SIEGE.

JUNE–JULY, 1521.

SOMETHING ABOUT QUAUHTEMOTZIN—INFAMOUS PRETENSIONS OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION AND CHRISTIANITY—PROMPT ACTION OF THE MEXICAN EMPEROR—REPETITIONS OF THE ENTRY ASSAULT—SUBMISSION OF THE SURROUNDING NATIONS—DIRE CONDITION OF THE MEXICANS—SPANISH DEFEAT AND DISAFFECTION—RESOLUTION TO RAZE THE CITY.

IN their present position, with the advantages of superior civilization, there was equal glory accruing to the Spaniards in winning Mexico, and to the Mexicans in manfully losing their city. Quauhtemotzin as a patriot and a skilful general was fully alive to the perils of his position, but he was prepared to use to best advantage all the resources at his command, and that is all any one can do. Stern as Saturnius, and passionately patient, from the day of the capture of Montezuma his nature had been proof against all pleasure. Of an imperious temper, haughty and overbearing as Coriolanus, yet was he as faithful to defend the city as any Hector or Horatius. I hold that Spaniards of the sixteenth century were no worse than their neighbors. It was a bigoted and cruel age; though for that matter enough of bigotry yet remains, and there is sufficient cruelty in our latter-day fightings to keep us humble. And while we see much to condemn in the motives that brought hither these foreigners, and much in their conduct that was cruel and unjust, yet we are constrained to admit that the work which they accomplished was in the pathway of destiny.

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the causeway on either side of Fort Xoloc. These afforded shelter for all the Spaniards and two thousand servants, and proved most welcome, for the rainy season had already set in. The same natives were obliged to provide supplies, such as fish and a species of cherry, which together with maize formed the chief sustenance of the army. Frijoles, or beans, cacao, *quilite* herbs, and *nochtli*, afforded variety. The maize was ground by hand and made into tortillas, or pancakes, by the slave women and mistresses of the soldiers, either for their individual lords or for the mess to which they belonged. These duties were also assumed by some of the few Spanish and mulatto women who had accompanied their husbands. Although there was little fear of starvation in the Spanish camps, yet the fare was at times not of the best.[12] The less fastidious auxiliaries were content with a range of eatables which the soldiers would not touch; human meat with them was a *bonne-bouche* for which they were prepared to risk even their own flesh.[13] Alvarado's men enjoyed perhaps the least comfort, for they had moved their camp to a point on the causeway, leaving the auxiliaries at Tlacopan, together with the slaves and tortilla-makers. Nor were their barracks properly constructed, so that exposure to wind and rain was added to poor fare and miry roads, while the situation of the camp added to danger and guard duty.

The camp had been formed round a temple square on the causeway, quite close to Mexico, or rather to Tlatelulco, for Alvarado had tired of having his day's work destroyed every night, and he resolved at least to protect the approach to the suburb. One deep channel yet intervened, beyond which the camp could not well be moved, but a large force was stationed to guard it at night, so that the crossing should be as-

[12] 'No ses hartauan de pescado, que tuuierõ pocos dios: y demas de la hambre con q̃ peleauan, el sol, y el frio no les dio pequeño trabajo.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xix.

[13] 'Soliti sunt hostes in prælio cadentes intra suos ventres sepelire,' explains Peter Martyr, dec. v. cap. viii., and with some truth.

'otwithstanding these rebuffs Alvarado persevered, the Mexicans resolved to take advantage of his to entrap him. Two or three wide channels in-ened between the end of the causeway and the ıt market, and the first of these was now the point ɔntention, a chasm of sixty feet in width and over feet in depth. By great effort a crossing had been formed with débris. This the Mexicans ermined one night and covered a part with a false ınd. In the morning they attacked the Spanish ɔost with great demonstration, but retired as soon he horsemen charged. Flushed with success, the niards followed in divided parties, and one of fifty ı a number of allies pursued across the channel. sooner were they over than the boatmen below away the support, while the warriors turned with rwhelming force upon the band. Resistance was ossible, and they retreated only to fall into the ning, where crews were at hand to pounce upon m. Indescribable confusion ensued. Thick fell blows off the despairing men, as they sought to t back the triumphant foe. Bernal Diaz, who was ɔng the number trapped, felt himself seized by ıt arms, but although badly wounded he managed ast off the assailant and spring to the bank, where 'ell exhausted. Fortunately Alvarado came up at moment, after driving back a division in another ection, and so startled the assailants that they re-ıted, though with four captive Spaniards, one or more being killed, besides a horse and a number ıllies.[16]

, who were sacrificed in a temple of Tlacuchcalco ward, 'donde agora iglesia de Santa Ana.' *Hist. Conq.*, 183, ed. 1840, 188–9. One repulse place in Coyonacazco ward. *Torquemada*, i. 550–2. Spanish versions in-e no such losses, and they may probably belong to the later great defeat. Such is in main the version of Bernal Diaz; the other accounts differ ly. This author states that five Spaniards were captured, nearly all the wounded, and two rowers killed, for the brigantines in seeking to aid had ne fast on stakes and exposed to attack. Had the Mexicans not been so tened by the horsemen the loss would have been very great. *Hist. Verdad.*, l. Cortés allows three or four captured. *Cartas*, 228; *Clavigero, Storia* ., iii. 196. Duran places the scene where rose afterward the San

When Cortés heard of the affair he came over to administer a reprimand, but on learning the particulars he could not withhold his admiration for the valiant deeds performed, and merely exhorted his lieutenant to be more cautious.[17] Great was the exultation of the Mexicans over their success, and tauntingly they hovered round the camp, imitating the cries of the entrapped soldiers. So encouraged did they feel as to make several determined night attacks on the different camps or their advance posts. Alvarado's being nearest and most exposed had to sustain quite a severe fight, losing several men [18]

Although Alvarado had made little advance into the city, the planting of his camp so near it saved much fighting and enabled him to direct daily operations almost at once against the main points. In this he possessed an advantage over Cortés, who was compelled daily to recapture a number of positions already gained. He himself remarks on this loss of time and work. "Your Majesty may blame me for retreating instead of holding what is gained," he writes, but guards at the bridges, which must be large, would be so harassed as to unfit them for the next day's work, while to take up a position within the city would draw the whole of the large population upon them, and might lead to the cutting off of communication and supplies, and probably to a repetition of the great disaster of the previous year. Such a position would besides render it possible for the Mexicans to obtain supplies from the mainland, for the Spanish allies could not be relied on to watch them.

Hipólito hermitage. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 500. But for Quauhtlizcatzin, the prince who led the Tezcucan auxiliaries, all the Spaniards would have been lost, exclaims Ixtlilxochitl, *Hor. Crueldades*, 36. Herrera assumes that the fault lay with Alvarado for neglecting to fill the channel. dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xx.

[17] 'No solo no le culpo, mas loole.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 203.

[18] The most serious attacks took place on June 24th and 25th, as if oracles had impelled the Mexicans to seek the destruction of the Spaniards on the anniversary of their reëntry into the city after the Alvarado massacre. The Tlacopan camp lost ten soldiers and had a dozen severely wounded, including Alvarado. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 142, 145.

Cortés' own officers, however, could not fail to observe that Alvarado's course might have been followed with some advantage. They began to tire of the slow progress, attended as it was with so much fighting for so little gain; so much exposure to alternate rain and heat; so much discomfort in rude camps with poor diet and want of proper care for wounded or sick men. This was represented to Cortés, with the request that a general storming be attempted with a view to abbreviate the siege. He represented the danger of advancing over so many channels, along streets lined with houses, against hosts of determined warriors, with the prospect of being caught in the rear. Still he was as eager as any one to end the siege, and would call a council to deliberate on the matter. The result was a decided majority for the proposition to attempt the capture of Tlatelulco market and there establish a permanent camp.[19]

Since Sandoval will not be able to render efficient service on his route for an attack on Tlatelulco, he is ordered to join Alvarado with the weightiest part of his forces, and to take advantage of the movement to entrap the Mexicans. He will pretend to make a general evacuation of his camp, and thus allure the foe to an attack on the baggage-train, during which the ambuscaded cavalry can inflict a lesson which shall also serve to secure the camp against later attack. Sandoval sends another portion of his forces to Cortés, who has more points to cover, and receives instructions to attend in particular to the capture of the channels and their filling, and otherwise to secure the safety of the more impetuous Alvarado.

On the day appointed, the brigantines with their flotillas are sent early to aid in clearing the causeways and approaches. The troops find little trouble in

[19] Bernal Diaz seeks to convey the idea that he or his camp were opposed to the attempt, *id.*, 146, but had it succeeded, he would probably have declared the truth, that Cortés was urged on all sides to make the effort, as stated in *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 203, *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xx., and *Cortés, Cartas*, 228–9. Perhaps the general made objections chiefly to cover his responsibility in case of failure.

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particularly to the channels, of which there are three in that causeway. "They are filled," was the answer, made without a thought as to its accuracy, for flushed with the success of the advance, soldiers and cavaliers alike cast prudence to the winds, and disregarding common ditches bend their eyes alone upon the goal. Immediately after comes the doleful sound of the *teponastli*, and a shrill trumpet blast, the alarm signal of Paynalton, the mythic page of the war-god. Struck on the summit of Tlatelulco temple, the sounds float over the contestants, sending a chill into the heart of the Spaniards and allies as they rush onward filled with visions of success. To the Mexicans, on the other hand, it comes as a magic appeal from Huitzilopochtli, stirring their spirit with fresh energy: a resistless appeal to make a supreme effort for imperilled home, and faith, and liberty.[21]

Cortés also hears the warning, only too deeply impressed since that Sorrowful Night, and with anxious heart he hastens forward to see how matters stand. His anxiety is increased as the jubilant cries of his own men appear to change, while high above them rise the unmistakably triumphant shouts of the Aztecs. Just then he comes to one of the crossings formed by his party at a channel ten to twelve paces wide, and over ten feet deep. It seems insecure, and on looking he finds it constructed of some loosely thrown pieces of wood and reed, covered with a little earth. He at once orders the auxiliaries in his following to rebuild the structure. Scarcely is the order uttered before he sees his forces coming down the causeway in disorderly flight, led by the allies. Cortés makes frantic efforts to stay the current. None heed him. Fears lend wings and drown all appeal. On come the pressing throng, on to the frail bridge, which sinks with its living freight into the deep water. Still onward rush the mass behind, impelled by their mad momentum, tumbling

[21] See *Native Races*, ii. 303; iii. 293 et seq.

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Tlascaltec, Temacatzin, plants himself in front of the leader, half prostrate with exhaustion and wounds, and wards off the blows till Antonio de Quiñones, captain of the guard, manages to force his way forward and sustains him, followed by a number of men whom the report of their general's danger has stirred to fierceness.[23] "Away from here, your worship, and save your person," cries the captain, "for without you all will be lost!" Cortés refuses, "for I desired rather death than life," he writes; but finally by dint of pleading and main force he is induced slowly to retire, seeking to cover the rear of the fleeing. And well it was, for a longer stay would have proved fatal. But for the eagerness of the Mexicans to secure as prisoner so magnificent a prize, they could easily have despatched him. Aztecs made it a point to obtain as many prisoners as possible, particularly chiefs and nobles, and white men, who ranked even above these, in order to do honor to the war-god. This effort was prompted by a deep religious obligation as well as by warrior spirit.

Not far from the disastrous channel a horse was

[23] The claims to the honor of rescuing the general are conflicting. Gomara, followed by Herrera and Torquemada, names 'Francisco' de Olea. Bernal Diaz, who states that this soldier slew four of the captains holding Cortés, lets Lerma dispose of the remainder. After this came other soldiers and Quiñones. Cristóbal de Olea was quite young, 26 years of age, a native of Medina del Campo, muscular, and skilled in arms, and a general favorite. Bernal Diaz adds other particulars. *Hist. Verdad.*, 146, 246. Ixtlilxochitl, on the other hand, claims for his namesake the credit of having done what Spaniards claim for Olea, aided by his Tezcucans, who kept the enemy at bay. This, he adds, is proved by a painting on the gate of the monastery of Santiago Tlatelulco. *Hor. Crueldades*, 38–9. Herrera briefly alludes to Ixtlilxochitl as coming up after Olea, and then relates with some detail that at the same time came the Tlascaltec, Tamaxautzin he calls him, a native of Hueyotlipan. He was afterward baptized as Antonio or Bautista, and became a good Christian, the first native to receive extreme unction. dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xx. Torquemada, i. 555, copies, but calls the man Teamacatzin. Both evidently prefer Tlascaltec to Tezcucan records. In fact, Ixtlilxochitl adds certain incredible particulars about the prowess of his wounded hero in pursuing the Mexican general into a temple, although such pursuit could not have taken place under the circumstances. See also *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 503, and *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 130. Cortés writes that he would have been lost but for Quiñones, and one of his men who lost his life to save him. *Cartas*, 233. A small chapel was erected in the convent de la Concepcion to commemorate the escape. See *Saavedra, Indio Peregrino*, canto 20.

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wounded in the leg. Shortly before, h
Cristóbal de Guzman, a great favorite,
with a charger to the relief of his ma
surrounded with warriors and cut dowı
the animal,[24] while another rider was ob
with a lance-thrust in the throat. Oı
the section of causeway assigned to the
animal was killed and a third nar
Finally the troops reached the broader
and now Cortés, with the nine horseı
division, was able to take a firm sta
enemy. Checked in their pursuit, and
their charges by the presence of the bol
and lances, they flung their missiles aı
increased energy. Suddenly two or
heads were cast before the horsemen,
"Tonatiuh!" "Sandoval!" The meanir
misunderstood, and as the Spaniards ga
and disfigured faces a sickening fear cr
Could it be that these beloved lead
There was no time for deliberation. F
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messengers to recall the other divisions
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their men in good order, and were a

[24] Bernal Diaz assumes that Guzman rode up after
and fell captive into Aztec hands. *Hist. Verdad*, 147.

when the order of recall reached them. The streets there being wider and easier, and the channels all filled, they found no trouble in rejoining their general. Now jointly they retreated through the plaza and down the Iztapalapan road, furiously pursued by the warriors, who showed themselves more reckless than usual on seeing their prey escape. The central temple was filling with a vast throng to watch the onslaught, and on the summit the priests were already burning incense and chanting in honor of victory, while the rabble railed at the humiliated children of the sun.

Alvarado had meanwhile advanced along the road to Tlatelulco from his causeway, leaving Sandoval to coöperate along the flank and to direct the movements of the brigantines and the filling of the channels. The advance was fiercely resisted by the Mexicans from roofs, cross-lanes, and barricades, and hundreds had been severely wounded, chiefly Tlascaltecs, only too many fatally, yet he persevered. He was already near the market, the aim of all efforts, when the drum and trumpet came to startle his men and to encourage the Mexicans to greater resistance. Progress was now almost checked, and soon came the cry, "Malinche is dead!" "Sandoval and the other captains are dead!" "Behold their faces!" And therewith several heads with gory beards were cast before them. "This shall be your fate!"

Alvarado's men were white with dismay, and but for the intrepid courage of their leader the rout of Cortés' party might have been repeated. Making a bold stand with his Spaniards, he ordered the Tlascaltecs to fall back and leave the retreat open. They needed no second instructions to this end, for the bleeding heads lent wings to their haste. Then grew the onslaught fiercer than ever, for the retreat of Cortés' forces enabled a larger number of enemies to turn against Alvarado and Sandoval. The latter also received his cast of bloody heads with a new string of prominent names, all calculated to inspire terror.

after charge they made to keep back the advancing foe, through the shower of blinding missiles, against the line of bristling lances, amidst the whirling swords and clubs, until not a rider but felt his arm droop and his body grow faint with loss of blood. Sandoval himself had a number of wounds. "For God's sake make haste and retire," he cried to his foot-soldiers, "or we shall all be lost!"

Finally the passage was clear, and they fell back along the causeway, still fighting, and now exposed to the canoe sallies. On reaching his quarters, Alvarado turned two cannon against the swarm which sought to scale the camp, and this with the fusillade procured a much needed respite.[27] It was time, for the increasing darkness would soon have added fresh dangers to the retreat. Sandoval had already hurried away with a solitary companion to seek the camp of Cortés and calm his fears.[28] With a similar object Andrés de Tápia had been sent with three horsemen from Fort Xoloc to Alvarado's camp, where he arrived with some scars from marauding stragglers. Not wishing to discourage the soldiers, he reduced the losses of his party to quite a small number, and made light of the matter.

By this time the enemy had retired, but from the city rose their shouts of triumph, and every temple was ablaze with fires to celebrate the victory. The summit of the Tlatelulco pyramid, the highest of them all, was the scene of great commotion, and soon the sombre notes of the melancholy drum called to it attention. A number of instruments now added their discordant notes, in clash and blast, and a procession

[27] The artillerists being all disabled or dead, Pedro Moreno de Medrano, afterward a settler at Puebla, took their place. *Id.*

[28] Bernal Diaz writes as if Sandoval gained the camp at an early hour, rode over to Fort Xoloc, and came back in time to aid in Alvarado's retreat. But he would never have ventured to leave his command and his comrade in their danger; nor does it seem likely that he could have ridden the long distance to Xoloc and back in time to join in Alvarado's conflict, even if Cortés' defeat took place before 'misa mayor,' as he assumes. *Hist. Verdad.*, 146–8. This author is here very confused, assuming, for instance, that Sandoval was fighting from his own camp instead of coöperating near Alvarado.

When Sandoval reached Camp Xoloc and learned the news he burst forth, "Señor Capitan, what is this? Where are the fine counsels and warlike skill which you are wont to exhibit?" With tears springing to his eyes, Cortés replied: "Sandoval, my son, my sins I admit, but I am not so guilty in this matter as I appear. The officer whom I charged to fill the channel failed to obey." He further intimated that Alvarado might be led by his daring into difficulties, and bade Sandoval watch carefully over the safety of the western and northern camps, particularly for the present, while Cortés was restrained by his wounds.[32] The injunction

those who fell. Vetancurt divides the figures into 40 captives and 20 dead, *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 162, and Clavigero also includes dead and captive in that number, while raising the dead horses to 7. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 212. Solis writes that over 40 Spaniards were carried off alive, and that Alvarado and Sandoval lost 20. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 410. Bernal Diaz acknowledges only a third of such loss between these two captains. Gomara gives 40 captives, several killed, 3 or 4 horses lost, and over 30 wounded. *Hist. Mex.*, 205–6. Ixtlilxochitl raises the allied loss to over 2000. *Hor. Crueldades*, 37–9. Fifty-three Spaniards, says Sahagun, *Hist. Conq.*, 192. In the cédula of March 7, 1525, granting a coat-of-arms to Cortés, 50 are mentioned, but in his letter to the sovereign the general acknowledges only 35 to 40 and over 1000 allies. Herrera and Torquemada adopt these figures. Oviedo, iii. 516, lowers the number to 30. Duran, who confounds the late repulse of Alvarado with the Sorrowful Night and this defeat, allows 4 banners to be captured. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 501–4, 508.

[32] Bernal Diaz gives this conversation with some detail, and names Treasurer Alderete as the guilty officer who neglected to fill the channel, intimating that Cortés had been heedlessly allured onward by the Mexicans, leaving Alderete to attend to the filling. He even allows the treasurer to retort to the charge, in Sandoval's presence, that Cortés' eagerness had been the cause of the neglect. This is probably an invented account, based on Gomara's statement that the 'treasurer,' no name being given, neglected to fill a channel on his route. Informed of this, Cortés hastened thither to remedy the fault, only to meet the fleeing. Herrera adopts this version, as do most writers, including Prescott; but it is evidently wrong, for Cortés writes clearly that the misfortune occurred on his own route, some distance above its junction with the Tlacopan road, to which they soon retreated. On reaching this road he sent to recall the 'treasurer and comptroller,' who were leading their division victoriously at the farther end of it. Owing to their care in filling channels 'they received no injury in retreating.' *Cartas*, 233–4. There can be little doubt about this statement, since Cortés would have been only too glad to cast the blame on any other division than his own. He does not even claim to have been at the front, but in the rear, and near the spot where the neglect occurred. The only question then is, who was the guilty officer? The 'treasurer' commanded the centre division, and although there were several treasurers, the royal, late and new, and he who acted for the army, yet the new royal treasurer is undoubtedly meant, and this appears to have been Alderete, according to the statement of several authorities. Hence the accusation against Alderete must be wrong; anything besides this must be conjecture.

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[35] Similar women of courage we
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lib. ii. cap. i.

[36] Oil was the chief remedy. 7
of a soldier named Juan Catalan
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[37] 'Que de ai a ocho dias no
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[39] Forty thousand, says Ixtlilx
and other towns subject to Tezcuc
mention no auxiliaries from the ca

The complaint from Quauhnahuac was followed by a deeper wail from Toluca and adjoining Otomí settlements in the mountain region west of the lake. The Matlalzincas, devoted adherents of Quauhtemotzin, had been induced to openly declare for him and to invade their districts, preparatory to advancing against the Spaniards. This intention had been already vauntingly proclaimed by the Aztecs, and since the Matlaltzincas were both powerful and warlike, the necessity for prompt measures became even more apparent in this case. The tried Sandoval was intrusted with the expedition, composed of eighteen cavalry, one hundred infantry, and a large force of allies chiefly Otomís, which soon grew to about seventy thousand. After a quick march he came to the smoking ruins of some settlements and startled into flight a band of marauders, who left behind them a quantity of plunder and provisions, including some tender children still roasting on the spit. He pursued the raiders, and after crossing a river[40] came upon a larger force, which turned as he approached, to seek safety within the town of Matlaltzinco, over two leagues distant. The cavalry made terrible havoc among them, and the infantry following in their wake, killed more than two thousand. Those who escaped made a stand at the town to cover the conveyance of families and effects to a fortified hill close by. This was pretty well accomplished before the infantry came up to assist in capturing the town. The defenders now fled, and the place was entered and burned, after being rifled of what remained to take. Since it was late, the assault on the hill was deferred till the morning. There the natives maintained a loud uproar until some time after midnight, when all became quiet. With early dawn the Spaniards prepared to storm the hill only to learn that it had been abandoned. A number of people were seen in the field, however, and eagerly the soldiers revived the fading expectation for a fray. In a

[40] The Chicuhnauhtla, Ixtlilxochitl calls it.

twinkling they were among the rabble, and a number were slain before the explanation gained ears that these people belonged to the friendly Otomís. Sandoval now advanced on another fortified town, whose cacique threw open the gates on beholding the hosts before him, and not only offered his own submission, but promised to effect the submission of the allied caciques and those of Malinalco and Cohuixco. Regardless of the insinuations of the Otomís that such promises could not be relied on, Sandoval returned to Mexico, and four days later appeared there the caciques of all these provinces to tender allegiance and aid for the siege.[41]

Meanwhile the portentous eighth day had dawned on the Spanish camps. Hardly less concerned than the natives, the soldiers could not control their trepidation as they thought of the oracle, although striving to appear indifferent. Nor were they without tangible reasons for their fears. With a daily growing desertion among the much needed allies, and fading enthusiasm among those who remained; with supplies greatly reduced owing to the neutral attitude assumed by surrounding districts; with fresh wars upon their hands, which demanded not only more hardships but a division of their weakened forces; with constant vigils and alarms amid the harassing attacks of a triumphant foe; with a large number of wounded deprived of needful care and comforts, and above all the ghastly spectacle of a daily sacrifice of late comrades, attended by wild and imposing celebrations—with all this gloom and distress it required stout hearts indeed to remain steadfast. Yet they were firm; they believed in the strength and justice of their cause, and in their ultimate triumph, though momentarily dismayed, prayer

[41] 'Y ellos le siruieron muy biẽ en el cerco.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 207. Ixtlilxochitl claims of course that his Tezcucans formed the chief auxiliaries of Sandoval. Bernal Diaz wrongly gives Tápia this expedition, which Cortés intimates to have been sent about three days after the return of the Quauhnahuac party. *Cartas*, 237.

afforded them relief. It dissipated fear and infused fresh courage.

Thus passed the day, amidst fear and hope, and the Spaniards still existed. The Mexicans do not appear to have made any special effort to support the oracle by a determined attack. Nor had they been able to open any effective communication with the mainland; for although the lake towns had withdrawn their canoe fleet, they offered no aid to the besieged, while the brigantines maintained too strict a guard to permit many boats to gain the capital with supplies.

The ninth day came, and now it was the turn of the Spaniards to exult, for not only did they feel inspired with the belief that providence was protecting them—and nobly the friars helped Cortés to impart that stirring idea—but they were cheered with revived animation among the allies and the early return of most of the deserters. From Tezcuco, indeed, came additional troops under the command of some Spaniards there stationed.[42] Cortés greeted the returning corps with rather cold forgiveness. He showed them that besides carrying on the siege without their aid he had undertaken victorious campaigns, and needed not their assistance. Nevertheless, since they had served so zealously before, he would not only overlook the grave crime of desertion, due partly to ignorance of Spanish laws, but let them again share in the final reduction of the city, and thus gain both revenge and riches. Cortés could adopt no other course, for the siege could not be carried on without the allies.

Under Spanish training the latter had besides grown very efficient, as the following instance will illustrate: No sooner had the eight portentous days passed by than Chichimecatl, the leading Tlascaltec captain serving under Alvarado, disgusted with the idle fears which had unmanned his people, and eager to retrieve

[42] Farfan and Villareal came, says Bernal Diaz, and Tecapaneca, cacique of Topeyanco, led the returning Tlascaltecs. *Hist. Verdad.*, 151.

them in the eyes of the Spaniards, r
both them and the Aztecs what he c
the aid of the soldiers the first fortifi
captured, and the chief advanced int
his own people only, the flower of hi
leaving several hundred archers near
keep the route clear for retreat. W
columns he advanced along the main
tured the next canal passage after a
Then he passed onward to the next
sharp contest all the day. Finally ca
returning, and the Aztecs bore dow
fury on his flank and rear. The r
formed in good order, partly owing t
of leaving a rear body; and Chichime
a lauded hero.[43]

Messengers had been sent to the
wide to encourage them with the news
filment of the oracle. Ojeda and M
person to Tlascala, partly also with th
curing certain supplies. They left A
at midnight with only a few natives, a
half-way to Tepeyacac they perceived
descending from the hills with heavy
they deposited in a number of canoe
was at once sent to Alvarado, who
along the shore to check this smug
evidently escaped the cruisers.[44] Oje
ceeded to Tlascala and brought a large
ions.[45] In addition to this the camp
by the arrival of a party of recruits wi
of war material, chiefly powder and cr

[43] Cortés leaves the impression that this incident t
days when the Spaniards were making desultory entri
since he does not speak of the oracle or the defection t
Torquemada, i. 557, intimates that Chichimecatl served
this is wrong.

[44] Ojeda magnifies the train of men to 4000 and the ca
dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xxii.

[45] Fifteen hundred loads maize, 1000 loads fowl, 300
other effects, including Xicotencatl's confiscated proper

of Ponce de Leon's Florida expedition.[46] The war stores were particularly valuable; so low had run the actual stock that Cortés was preparing more Chinantec pikes to cover the deficiency in weapons.

Everything was again ready for a serious revival of hostilities. Over six weeks had passed since the siege began, and the end seemed little nearer than before. On the day of the defeat three fourths of the city might be said to have been reduced; but nearly all this advantage had been lost, owing chiefly to the narrow streets, encompassed by houses which served both for attack and retreat, and the numerous traps in the form of canals and channels. So long as these obstacles remained the progress must not only be slow, ever slower as advance was made, but the troops would be constantly exposed to fresh disaster. One more defeat might ruin all, and Cortés resolved to avoid risks. He would tear down every building as he advanced on both sides of the streets, and fill up every channel; "not take one step in advance without leaving all desolated behind, and convert water into firm land, regardless of the delay." So writes the general, and yet he expresses regret for this destruction of the city, "the most beautiful in the world."[47] In pursuance of this plan he asked the allied chiefs to summon additional forces of laborers with the necessary implements. They eagerly consented, and within a few days the men stood prepared.

[46] Herrera intimates that the material may have been a consignment to Leon, for which the disappointed owner sought a market. A vessel of Aillon's fleet, says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 153.

[47] Some time before he had expressed the same intention, and the fear that little or no treasure would be recovered. *Cartas*, 222, 241. Ixtlilxochitl claims that his namesake provided 100,000 men for the task, *Hor. Crueldades*, 42, and Bernal Diaz states that this prince proposed purely a strict blockade as a safe and sure plan. *Hist. Verdad.*, 150. The result proves that this would have been the best and as speedy as the one adopted, while the city would have been saved from destruction. That the plan was ever seriously suggested among this impatient crew is affirmed by no other authority.

CHAPTE

THE CONQUE

JULY–AU

THE DESTROYERS ADVANCE—FIER
SITUATION OF THE MEXICANS-
MENTS OF ALVARADO—THE EM
OF THE AZTECS UNBEARABLE—
CHILDREN—THE TENDER-HEAI
WORK—CAPTURE OF THE EMPE
QUETS AND THANKSGIVINGS—I
HOMES—REFLECTIONS.

WITH a force of over
sand men the Spaniards
large proportion destined
channels, and remove obst
drive back the enemy and
channel near the plaza
forces for an hour with a
gain time for some operat
began to ply their missil
accept the challenge, and
lessness that caused his fo
him for exposing so valua
however, of so encouragi
the channel with its intr
tured. On reaching the
with loose stones, which
running. Several streets
with stone barricades. T
was directed toward ope
plaza, which was to serv

ent movements. The work was slow, owing
massive character of the buildings along the
venue, and in this imperial centre of the city;
iads swarmed thereat, and structure after
e was levelled, opening wide access to the
causeway.

Mexicans made repeated efforts to stay such
destruction. But their onslaught was futile,
dering cannon and fiery chargers protected
oint. "Burn and raze, you slaves," they
o the auxiliaries in their impotent fury; "you
e to rebuild it all, either for us if we win, or
present masters if they conquer!" And so it
l. With dreary tasks did they pay for the
ry triumph over their enemy. During the
al of the troops to camp in the evening the
s were able to make a forcible demonstration,
han usual on these occasions, if we may credit
e records. They pushed in front of their
ne-looking Spanish cross-bowman, reserved
late captives, and sought to make him direct
s against his countrymen. This he refused
ays shooting too high, and finally the enraged
ut him down. His presence naturally inter-
h the free operations of the soldiers, as the
d expected.

e following days Cortés ascended the com-
temple pyramid in the plaza, and thence
more effectively the operations for razing
and driving back the Mexicans, who fought
eration for every foot of ground, so much so
ne day alone fell twenty thousand it is said.
occasion a corps of Tlascaltecs crossed a
l were thrown into disorder by the enemy.
ecs began to exult, and one of their num-
uscular warrior with enormous bejewelled
armed with a Spanish sword and shield,
challenge to any Spaniard. Several were
ong them Hernando de Osma, who had just

forty. Thirty of these were posted early in the day in a hiding-place near the plaza, and close by a hundred select soldiers and a corps of Tlascaltecs. When the hour came to return to camp, the Mexicans, as expected, fell upon the retreating lines in stronger force than ever, encouraged by the achievement of the previous evening and by the pretended timidity of the ten horsemen who covered the rear. When the first columns of pursuers had well passed the hiding-place, the signal was given, and with ringing Santiagos the parties in ambush rushed upon the startled warriors. Finding their retreat cut off, the severed section lost presence of mind, and permitted themselves to be butchered like cattle. When the massacre was over, fully five hundred of the flower of the Aztec armies covered the ground.[2] Never again were the Spaniards exposed to pursuit near or beyond the plaza, or indeed to any such fierce charges, and the horses became again an object of awe.[3]

The captives were questioned regarding the condition of the city, and from them a revelation was obtained showing that the majority of the occupants were in favor of capitulation, but afraid to express their views in face of the firmness of Quauhtemotzin and his party, who were resolved to defend their city to the end. And there was still enthusiasm among the Mexican people. Women and cripples could be seen preparing and bringing war material for stronger arms to use; they swept dust from the roofs into the faces of assailants, while children threw tiny stones and lisped an echo of the curse that fell from the lips

[2] 'Todos los mas principales y esforzados y valientes.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 244. And 2000 captives. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hor. Crueldades*, 43. 'Tuuieron bien q̃ cenar aquella noche los Indios nuestros amigos,' observes Gomara, unctuously. *Hist. Mex.*, 209. Bernal Diaz, who claims to have been among the 100 select, intimates that Alvarado also formed an ambuscade that day, though less effective. *Hist. Verdad.*, 153–4. In rushing from the hiding-place, says Cortés, two horses collided, one of them throwing its rider and charging alone amid the foe. After receiving several wounds it sought refuge among the soldiers and was conducted to camp, where it died.

[3] 'Fué bien principal causa para que la ciudad mas presto se ganase,' *Cortés, Cartas*, 245, but this must be regarded as an exaggerated estimate.

were looked on with indifference by the gaunt and hollow-eyed, who were themselves marked for death.

Regardless of the consequences, many crept at night close to the Spanish camps in search of roots and refuse which could no longer be found within their precincts. Advised of such movements, a body of soldiers and allies was sent out before sunrise one day and fell on a large number, slaughtering many of them before discovering them to be starving women and children.[6] It was necessary to take increased measures even against these surreptitious attempts to sustain the defence, and to keep in the useless population, though there was little prospect of any important exodus, since the fear of the savage and cannibal auxiliaries who surrounded the city made its very pest-holes appear attractive places of refuge. The vessels were particularly efficient for this purpose, the more so since the crews had found a ready means to render the submerged stakes and palisades of little hindrance.[7] They were thus enabled to ravage the suburbs, and to coöperate with the other forces by landing and driving the inhabitants toward the narrow quarter in which they were now confined. They had not always an easy task, however, for the Mexicans were growing more reckless, and would sometimes venture to meet even the 'winged houses.'

On one occasion a portion of the fleet was closely beset in a confined place, and the flag-ship happening to strand on some timbers the crew became panic-stricken and sought to abandon her. Martin Lopez, the builder, who was the chief pilot, at once turned against the deserters, and being a large and powerful man he pitched two into the water, beat and bruised half a dozen others, and soon compelled their return to duty. He thereupon led them against the enemy

[6] About 1000 were killed, says Ixtlilxochitl, *Hor. Crueldades*, 44; but Cortés puts the killed and captured at more than 800. *Cartas*, 245.

[7] 'Osauan nuestros vergantines romper las estacadas...remauan con gran fuerça y...a todas velas.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 150.

and drove them off, killing the lea
prominent officer. For this import
brave Lopez was rewarded with a cap

Cortés made quite rapid advance
demolition, considering the immensi
Tlacopan road had been levelled, rend
cation easy with the camp of Alvarado
of Santiago's day[9] the greater part of
to the market was gained. This th
afterward the name of Guatemotzin,[10]
peror's palace was here situated. St
its capture was not effected without a
wherein many a brave fellow met hi
the fight Alderete's horse became unn
a thrust, and rushed amid the enem
creating more disorder by his pawing
a squad of soldiers could have done.[11]

Equally severe was the struggle o
days in entering and filling a stree
canal, adjoining the main road. At
was taken a temple,[12] wherein a nun
bearded heads stared the horrified S
face. Tears filled the eyes of the beh

[8] 'De la Capitana, que èl havia salvado,' says Herre
the captain Villafuerte abandoned her; but this hardl
later statements that Villafuerte remained in charge
lib. i. cap. xxi.; lib. ii. cap. viii. The slain leader is
general of Quauhtemotzin, and his death 'fue causa, qu
la Ciudad,' *Torquemada*, i. 558, all of which is doubtf
to that of Lopez was accorded on another occasion to a
Nuñez, who after the captain had abandoned his vesse
of two consorts. When the commander came to resu
fused to admit him, saying that he had forfeited it.
Cortés sustained the brave fellow and gave him th
capacity he rendered important service. *Herrera*, dec. i

[9] July 25th, according to Clavigero, while Torquema
it August 5th.

[10] The Spanish corruption of Quauhtemotzin. 'La
de Tlatelulco q^e se llama de Guatimosa.' *Libro de Cabi*

[11] Herrera names Magallanes as one of those who
onslaught of a chief, but his death was avenged by Die
marksman. dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xx. On this occasion
that his namesake captured his brother, the usurper ki
rendering him to Cortés, he was at once secured with sha
42–3. 'De manera que de cuatro partes de la ciudad,
nosotros.' *Cortés*, *Cartas*, 246.

[12] At the corner of the street leading to Sandoval's q

erently the ghastly remains were taken down to receive Christian rites.[13]

The progress of Cortés' party in the direction of Tlatelulco market, the objective point of all the movements, had impelled Alvarado to almost superhuman efforts to gain before them a spot lying much nearer to his camp. Once within, he hoped to keep his ground, for it was large and level, twice the size of the market-place in Salamanca, says Cortés, and capable of accommodating sixty thousand persons. It was lined with porticos, wherein more substantial traders had their shops, while the open square was covered with booths, between which the Spaniards had so often wandered to gaze on products of every variety, from field and forest, from river and mountain, as well as from the workshop of artisan and artist.[14] Thus it was formerly; but now were to be displayed only the worst phases of human selfishness, cunning, and brutality; blood and corpses in lieu of fabrics and provisions; fierce war-cries and the clash of arms in place of merry traffickings and the clink of coin. By the day following Santiago's day Alvarado had levelled a wide approach, and now he resolved to direct his whole strength against this plaza, leaving merely a portion of his auxiliaries to attend to further razing operations. Before dawn the next morning he advanced with all his force and took the Aztecs by surprise. He effected an entrance with little trouble, and was able to meet in good order the bands which came to retrieve their neglect by fierce charges. They were led by the renowned orders of Tigers and Eagles, conspicuous in their corresponding gear, and eager to maintain the reputation which had gained for them their insignia. Mayehuatzin, lord of Cuitlahuac, was also among the prominent leaders, but the cavalry soon obliged him to turn in flight, and enabled the

[13] I knew three of them, writes Bernal Diaz. 'Las enterramos en vna Iglesia, que se dize aora los Mártires.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 153.

[14] For a full description see *Native Races*, ii. 382 et seq.

infantry to capture a
lined the market, and b
determined proved the c
tain, Coyohuehuetzin, w
himself on the Momuztl

While the main portic
fought at different points
vantage, Captain Gutier
capture the great temple
It was held by Temilotzi
disputed his advance. T
driven back, or sent tum
and bleeding, many a on
persevered, and step b
sustained by reënforcem
hard contest the summi
Montaño. Woe now to t
a Spaniard there but h
one who did not strive t
was a repetition of the ac
on the summit of the ce
neither expected mercy
they to dedicate their
gain by glorious death
the blessed. By nine
two wooden towers hold
gained, and the next m
rose to announce the vict
rose the wail of the na
portentous result, and wi
they renewed their ons
and the Eagle captain, C

[15] Cortés saw the smoke from hi
start. *Cartas*, 247. Herrera leav
captured the temple, dec. iii. lib. ii.
to step on the summit. Bernal Di
tinctly that Badajoz led the party,
the fight on the top continued till
565, refers to the temple as the Ac
to the Chalcans, and they 'toman
Yxtlilxachitl...ganaron el Cue gra
be a Chalcan version.

was ordered to attack
thousand buildings, wh
turn against the main q
of the mystic owl and
Mexicans fought with
turned the war into a l
were driven back it wa
thousand Mexicans ha

The promised victor
feat, and even the most
depths of despair. Th
by a strange occurren
native records describe
into flames and sparks
the north, after sunse
quarter and disappeared
overwhelmed with appı

Their eyes were fully
in pondering on the d
dreadful future became
every day fainter. Th
pain of wounds and u
but when at last frenzi
upon their own offsprin
over which sane minds
others began furtively
allied beings whereon t
and more terrible fear c

When Cortés returne
ing day to renew the fig
came forth, repulsive in
appearance, careless of

[20] *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. 18
a similar phenomenon in Michoac

[21] 'De los niños no quedó nadie,
is the statement of the native re
assumes that the Mexicans would
already died of starvation withou
priests partook of children sacrific
scruple among the masses was o
passim.

mercy and for bread. Moved by the appeal, he ordered them not to be injured, and proceeded to answer certain chiefs who had summoned him to a parley. "Son of heaven!" they cried, "within one brief day and night the tireless orb returns. Why dost not thou also finish thy task as quickly? Kill us, so that we may no longer suffer, but enter paradise and join the happy throng already sent thither!"[22] He told them that in their hands was the remedy. They had but to cease their insane opposition, and their suffering would cease, for he would give them food and respect their persons and property. No satisfactory answer was returned. They were evidently afraid to speak of peace, though eager for it. Cortés felt convinced that the emperor and a few leading nobles were the only persons holding back, and willing to spare the people he again resolved on an appeal.

A distinguished captive was prevailed on to carry this message in order to give it more weight,[23] and to use his influence with the emperor. On appearing before Quauhtemotzin the noble began to speak of the kind treatment he had received from the Spaniards. Praise of this nature hardly accorded with the mood of the ruler or with the views he wished to impart, and no sooner did the envoy allude to peace than he was ordered away with an imperious sign to the stone of sacrifice.[24] Any fate for ruler and people was better than to fall into the hands of Christian civilization. At the same time the warriors faintly threw themselves against the Spaniards with shouts of "Death or liberty!" The attack cost the besiegers a horse, and several men were wounded, but the charge was easily repelled, and was followed up by further slaughter. That night the allies encamped within the city.

[22] 'Porque no acabas cõ el que nos acabe?..Deseamos la muerte por yr a descansar cõ Quetçalcouatlh,' adds Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 210-11.

[23] The chroniclers call him an uncle of the Tezcucan king, but this appears to be a misinterpretation of Cortés' text, wherein he says that such an uncle had captured the prisoner.

[24] *Cortés, Cartas*, 251. This was partly in accordance with the law against nobles who returned from captivity, as already instanced.

The following day Cortés again approached some nobles at an intrenchment and asked, "Why remains the emperor so stubborn? Why will he not come and speak with me, and stay the useless slaughter of his subjects?" Bound by superstitious loyalty to their ruler, weepingly they replied, "We know not; we will speak with him; we can but die!" Presently they returned to say that Quauhtemotzin would present himself in the market-place on the following noon. Delighted, Cortés ordered a dais to be prepared on the raised masonry platform recently used for the catapult, together with choice viands. At the appointed hour the Spanish general appeared in state, with the soldiers drawn up in line, ready to do honor to the distinguished guest. After waiting impatiently for some time, they saw five personages approach, who proved to be the bearers of excuses. Quauhtemotzin could not come, but desired to learn the wishes of Malinche.[25]

Concealing his chagrin, Cortés caused the nobles to be entertained, and then he sent them to their master with assurance of good treatment; they soon returned with presents, and said the emperor would not come. Again they were sent, and again their efforts were unavailing. The truth is, Cortés desired with the monarch to secure his treasure; else he would not long have stayed his bloody hand. On the other hand, though Quauhtemotzin's conduct might be attributed to selfish obstinacy, he well knew that even for his people death was to be scarcely more feared than capture; now they might at once enter paradise, but the foreigners sought them but to enslave.

The following day the five nobles again kept Cortés waiting with a promise that the emperor would meet him. The hour having passed without his appearance, the allies, who had been kept in the background

[25] 'Tenia mucho miedo de parecer ante mí, y tambien estaba malo.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 253. 'Empacho,' explains Herrera, dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. vii. He feared to be shot. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 164.

during the negotiations, were called forward and the order was given for assault, Sandoval directing the fleet along the shore and up the canals to the rear. "Since they will not have peace, they shall have war!" cried Cortés. Then the carnage became fearful. Spaniards and auxiliaries alike, two hundred thousand strong and more, so it was said, abandoned themselves to the butchery, while Satan smiled approval. In helpless despair, like cooped beasts in the shambles, they received the death-blow as a deliverance.[26] I will not paint the sickening details so often told of chasms filled, and narrow streets blockaded high with the dead bodies of the unoffending, while down upon the living settled desolation. It must indeed have been appalling when he who had brought to pass such horrors writes: "Such was the cry and weeping of children and women that not one amongst us but was moved to the heart." Then he attempts to throw upon the allies the blame of it. "Never," he says, "was such cruelty seen, beyond all bounds of nature, as among these natives." Already, before this massacre of forty thousand[27] the streets and houses were filled with human putridity, so that now the Spaniards were forced to burn that quarter of the city to save themselves from infection.

Another morrow engenders fresh horrors. The three heavy guns are brought forward to assist in dislodging the besieged. Fearful lest the emperor escape him in canoes, Cortés directs Sandoval to place vessels on the watch for fugitives, particularly at the basin of Tlatelulco,[28] into which it is proposed to drive

[26] 'Ni tenian ni hallaban flechas ni varas ni piedras con que nos ofender... No tenian paso por donde andar sino por encima de los muertos y por las azoteas.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 254.

[27] 'Mataron y prendieron mas de cuarenta mil ánimas.' *Id.* Ixtlilxochitl, *Hor. Crueldades*, 48, raises the number to 50,000, while Duran states that over 40,000 men and women perished while fleeing. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 510. What pained the conquerors most, however, was the sight and knowledge of what immense quantity of booty eluded them to pass into the hands of these marauders.

[28] 'Entre la Garita del Peralvillo, la place de Santiago de Tlatelolco et le pont d'Amaxac.' So says Pichardo. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 193. 'Donde se

the besieged, there to catch the king and nobles with their gold and jewels. Of a truth Cortés does not wish to kill the miserable remnant of this so lately proud race—particularly if thereby he loses the encaged treasure. So he again appeals to them, and the Cihuacoatl,[29] chief adviser of the emperor, appears and is treated with great courtesy. After a time he takes his departure, then for the first time declaring that Quauhtemotzin will on no account present himself. "Return then," exclaims Cortés in ill-suppressed anger, "and prepare for death, invoked, not by high and holy purpose, but by obstinate timidity!"[30]

Five hours are thus gained by the wily monarch for the escape of the women and children, who pour out in swarms, the fainting supported by the feeble, all emaciated and haggard, and many marked by wounds or disease. Seeing which the allies pounce upon them, all stricken and defenceless as they are, and murder them, to the number of fifteen thousand. And the same number perish in the fall of broken bridges, in the choked canals, and from the tread of their fellow fugitives. How glorious is war! How noble the vocation! How truly great the hero of such hellish deeds! Blush, oh sun! for making such tomorrows; for lending thy light to human intelligence by which to do such diabolical wickedness!

Observing no signs of surrender, Cortés opened fire with his cannon and gave the signal of attack. Another massacre followed, the Mexicans displaying the same apathy and sullen indifference to death as on other late occasions. At some points, however, large bodies surrendered, and the remaining Mexican

embarcaban para Atzlapotzalco,' adds Bustamante. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hor. Crueldades*, 50.

[29] Chimalpain calls him Tlacotzin, afterward baptized as Juan Velasquez. *Hist. Conq.*, ii. 71. 'Ciguacoacin, y era el Capitan y gobernador de todos ellos, é por su consejo se seguian todas las cosas de la guerra,' says Cortés, *Cartas*, 255.

[30] 'Porque les queria combatir y acabar de matar.' *Cartas*, 256. 'Pues eran barbaros, que no queria dexar hombre vivo, q̃ se fuessen.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. ii. cap vii.

a dagger in the belt of Cortés. The general sought to reassure him, declaring that none could resist the Christian's God. He had performed his duty bravely, like a good prince, and should be treated as such.

Although the great end was thus accomplished, slaughter and pillage were continued until long after vespers. Before the troops withdrew to their respective camps, the prisoners, including the pretty empress, Tecuichpo, were conducted to safe quarters in Coyuhuacan. Shortly afterward a rain set in, aiding the efforts of the Spaniards to check the auxiliaries in their maraudings, and this, developing toward midnight into a furious storm with lightning and thunder, seemed to the homeless Mexicans to be the *xiuhcoatl* of Huitzilopochtli and the tumult of departing deities. To the conquerors this flashing and thundering of heaven's artillery was the salvo attending victory, which was celebrated in feasting and merriment till came late slumber with visions of gold, and lands, and vassals.

Thus ended Tuesday, the 13th of August 1521, sacred to St Hippolytus, and accordingly adopted by the conquerors as patron saint of the city. During colonial *régime* the day was annually celebrated by a solemn festival, wherein the leading citizens and officials rode on horseback in procession round the city,

venir en aquel estado, que ahora ficiese dél lo que yo quisiese.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 257. 'Diçiéndole que le diesse de puñaladas é lo matasse, porque no era raçon que viviesse en el mundo hombre que avia perdido lo que'l avia perdido,' adds Oviedo, iii. 422. 'Preguntáronle por los chripstianos, é dixo: No me preguntés esso; é si me quereys matar; matadme ya: que harto estoy de vivir,' says another version. *Id.*, 517. 'Iria mui consolado adonde sus dioses estaban, especialmente haviendo muerto à manos de tal Capitan.' *Herrerra*, dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. vii. 'Why so stubborn?' is the way Duran opens the conversation on Cortés' part. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 509. 'Toglietemi con questo pugnale una vita, che non perdei nella difesa del mio Regno.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 230. See also Ixtlilxochitl and others. Writers generally go into ecstacy over this utterance. 'Magnanimo,' exclaims Peter Martyr, dec. v. cap. viii. 'Heroic,' ejaculates Bustamante in support of Chimalpain's encomium. *Hist. Conq.*, ii. 75. 'Ce trait est digne du plus beau temps de la Grèce et de Rome.' *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 193. 'A spirit worthy of an ancient Roman,' echoes Prescott, *Mex.*, iii. 206. Bernal Diaz says the emperor wept, and with him his chiefs. *Hist. Verdad.*, 155.

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Spaniards; they did not know, poor simpletons, that all along the days and nights of this terrible siege, with sword and lance on Aztec breast, they had been forging their own fetters, which they and their children long must wear.[42]

The conquest of Mexico was less a subjugation by Spanish soldiers than their skilful manœuvring of New World forces against one another. Had Anáhuac been united it would have succumbed less readily, perhaps never. As it was, while the native nations were slaying each other, fighting out their ancient feuds, the astute Spaniards laid their all-possessing hand upon the country.

Nor was any apology on their part needed before christendom. Mankind to this day have not become so humane and just as not to find excuse for any wrong within the realms of strength and inclination. What then could be expected of an age and nation wherein it was not uncommon to cloak crime under the fair garb of religion. Hitherto came the Spaniards to murder and to rob: to rob and murder in the name of charity and sweet heaven. No excuses were necessary, however convenient to that end came the appeals of the Cempoalans groaning under terrible oppression at the hand of a race delighting in blood and extortion; a race which within two centuries had risen from a degrading servitude largely by means of intrigue and treachery; a race stamped with ignoble characteristics born of serfdom, and eager to retaliate on others for their past humiliation, yet energetic, enterprising, and advancing with rapid strides along the pathway of indigenous culture.

[42] Bustamante comments on the non-fulfilment of the promises to Tlascala, saying that the republic was rightly served for lending herself to the invaders. *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 144. On their way home, says Ixtlilxochitl, the Tlascaltecs and their neighbors plundered Tezcuco and other towns. With the slaves carried home by his namesake, he adds consolingly, the destroyed palaces of Tezcuco were rebuilt. *Hor. Crueldades*, 52–3. The Tlascaltecs 'aun lleuaron hartas cargas de tasajos cecinados de Indios Mexicanos, que repartieron entre sus parientes...por fiestas.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 157.

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marked stain, and this notwithstanding the tendency to intrigue, the disregard for truth and justice, and a yielding to certain vices on the part of leaders, and the greed and brutality of rank and file. But even among the common soldiers, in fairness we cannot disregard the echo of noble sentiment, the aspiration toward high emprise there present. It is the leader, however, who with all his selfish cruelties and unprincipled trickeries must ever remain the central figure of our admiration. If ever there was a hero, a genius of war worthy the adoration of war worshippers, if ever there were grand conception and achievement, all were vividly displayed in the mind and person of Hernan Cortés.

An able French writer, comparing the siege of Mexico with that of Troy, depicts Cortés as an Achilles in whom were combined the talents of Agamemnon and Ulysses.[44]

In some respects, and as compared with his companions, he indeed approached the deity the Mexicans thought him. Behold him out upon this venture, throwing life to the winds that waft him from Cuba, sinking his ships behind him, plunging into the heart of a hostile country, and with a handful of men opposing powerful armies, quelling insurrections, capturing his captors, turning enemies into allies, balancing upon his finger contending powers, and after the grand cataclysm opened by him on the central plateau has spent itself, he quietly pockets the prize. No Alexander, or Scipio, or Cæsar, or Napoleon ever achieved results so vast with means so insignificant. It was indeed a rare piracy!

Taken as a whole, the testimony of eye-witnesses and the early chroniclers on the conquest may be considered as fully up to the average of historical evidence. While there was no little exaggeration, and some downright mendacity, such were the number of the witnesses, the time, place, and circumstances of their several relations, and the clearness of their testimony, that we find no difficulty with regard to any important matters in determining

[44] Alvarado was Ajax; Maxixcatzin, Nestor; Quauhtemotzin, Hector. *Chevalier, Mex. Ancien*, 232–41.

truth and falsehood. When in addition to the writi have native records and architectural remains as co honest searcher after truth may be satisfied.

In regard to the two writers by the name of the first expedition to Mexico, I have spoken of th of the priest, and before closing this volume I w *Verdadera* of the soldier. Following these were the tives of Velazquez, wholly unreliable; the relation o queror, whose statements were for the most part true as the *Carta del Ejército*, and *Probanza de Lejalde*, a *Cortés*, in the main true, but which may properly be a scrutiny and careful comparison; the reports of Zurit papers and documents lately brought to light by Nava ceta, Ternaux-Compans, and others, and published as *Inéditos, Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de* Spanish historians, Tezozomoc, Camargo, and Ixtlil Sahagun, Mendieta, and Las Casas; Oviedo, Peter Ma rera, Torquemada, Solis, and Clavigero; Bustamant and Brasseur de Bourbourg. These and others of but l offer ample foundation on which the modern histor superstructure.

I say that it is easy enough to determine truth fr study as this, where the evidence is so abundant and th separated. When Torquemada enters into a long arg misery wrought by the conquest was the punishment the Mexicans, I do not discuss the matter. I willingl historian knew, if indeed he knew anything about i mind of the deity than the modern, though the latter ings of the Spaniards were not in like manner on acco

The books treating of Cortés' achievements, as I mense array, as may be expected from the importan Robertson justly terms "the most memorable eve America," involving the subjugation of the richest a try therein, the fall of its beautiful and renowned ci daring campaigns ever undertaken. The narrative mance rather than history based on stern facts, and men have arisen who seek to cast doubt, not alone on c the main features of the achievement and the field.

One method of doubt has been to lower the esti and resources; to sneer at the large cities, magnifice certain industrial and fine arts, picture-writing, and ot culture. Such statements reveal to the experienced st regard or ignorance of evidence extant, of ruins wi their beautifully designed ornamentation, their adn plastic delineation of the human figure, both far in tional specimens of Egypt, and the former equal in m ductions of the higher Greek art. The picture-writ phonetic element so developed as to endow the Mexica

of culture, written records, applied not only to historic incidents and common facts, but to abstract subjects of philosophic, scientific, and poetic nature, as instanced in my *Native Races*.

It needed not the official investigation instituted by the Spanish government to confirm the mute testimony of relics, and the vivid declaration of chroniclers. Native records exist in sufficient abundance to speak for themselves; records written by and for the people, and therefore free from any suspicion of misrepresentation; records used by a number of writers for obtaining that insight into esoteric features of Nahua institutions which could not well be acquired by Spaniards. The translation of these records, as reproduced in the volumes of Sahagun, Ixtlilxochitl, Kingsborough, and others, with copies of original paintings, have been carefully used both for the *Native Races* and the histories of Mexico and Guatemala, and introduced indeed more thoroughly in this series as evidence than by any modern writer on the subject, not excepting the learned Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, though unlike this enthusiast I have not allowed myself to accept this evidence with the same non-critical bias. I have merely used it for what it is worth, after applying severe analytic tests. Certain points may be covered by merely one or two authorities; but even then the erudite student will readily determine the value of the testimony from internal evidence, while in the generality of cases he will find a number of versions by natives and Spaniards, by partisans and rivals, whose contradictions will aid him in determining the truth.

In a previous bibliographic note I have pointed out the many internal evidences furnished by the letters of Cortés, of undoubted reliability on most points, in their minuteness, their frank soldierly tone, and other features. They are besides confirmed in all the more essential points by the contemporaneous letters from the municipality of Villa Rica and the army, the sworn depositions before the royal notary by leading officers, the narratives of Andrés de Tápia, and others. Still stronger confirmation is given in the complaints and memorials issued by enemies and rivals of the great captain, who in their efforts to detract from his character and achievements provide the historian with material that enables him to avoid the pitfalls abounding even in the honest narratives of partisans, either from sympathy, from lack of thorough knowledge, or from hearsay. Such testimony is abundant in the residencia investigations of Cortés, Alvarado, Guzman, and others, all which contain voluminous testimony on the most important questions. Prescott's opportunities for consulting new material were vastly superior to those of his predecessors. If mine have been correspondingly greater, it may perhaps to some extent be due to the example set by him in his earnest researches, and because since the publication of his volumes, private individuals and learned societies have striven with increased enthusiasm to bring to light hidden material, notably from the rich archives of Spain and certain Latin-American states.

From this mass of what may be termed documentary evidence we turn to the regular historians and narrators, beginning with Peter Martyr and Oviedo, who both adhere chiefly to Cortés, though the latter adds other versions by different eye-witnesses. Sahagun's account contains a strange admixture of native absurdities and vague recollections of converted soldiers. A more com-

plete version is given by Gomara, the biographer of th
access to private and public archives and individual
he frequently colors the incidents to the credit of his
Nevertheless the value of the text is testified to by
Chimalpain, who adds some interesting facts from nat
knowledge. The Tezcucan writer Ixtlilxochitl also fo
for the Spanish side, while the archives left him by
different narratives furnish the other side, frequen
colored. Camargo gives a rather brief Tlascaltec ver
which, in accordance with the method of most histori
achievements with the leader, roused the feelings o
soldiers who had shared in the glories of that p
promptly began to write his celebrated *Historia Ver*
to tell the true story and rectify in particular th
Gomara. Although this profession is not always to b
most valuable from its exceeding completeness, its
varied version. Not long after, Herrera, the officia
his decades, wherein for the conquest he uses the m
with a leaning toward Gomara, yet with several addi
fect his own revised version, notably that of Ojeda,
Cortés, and also no small mass of material from the
quemada copies him for the most part, though he add
from Sahagun, from a Tezcucan writer, and others, m
conquest the most complete up to that time. Sol
critique, and with a verboseness and grandiloquence
version is comparatively brief, with few additions, an
iant summary; but Clavigero, while adding not much
account, presents it in quite a new form, pruned of
in a masterly manner, and invested with a philo
superior to anything presented till Prescott's time.
and some of Cortés' letters are founded the immense
and summaries on the conquest, both in separate and
them provided with occasional observations, but for t
tain nothing of any value to the student. Those aft
him as a rule. Mexican accounts might naturally
useful features, but such is hardly the case. Alama
Orozco y Berra, Bustamante, and certain writers in th
Geographical Society, have brought to light several doc
bearing on particular incidents and features; but no
value has been written, Carbajal's pretentious versio
plagiarism from Clavigero, Mora's a hasty compilati
the new bulky Spanish version by Zamacois, it is not
ficial and narrow in its research, blundering even wh
way, and representing more a feuilleton issue than a

Bernal Diaz del Castillo is, as I have said, the ma
quest, from the exhaustive thoroughness of his mat
other original writers, and from his participation in

including the discovery voyages. For about half a century he survives, and sees comrade after comrade disappear from the field till but five of Cortés' original company remain, "all of us very old, suffering from infirmities, and very poor, burdened with sons and daughters to marry, and grandchildren, and with but a small income; and thus we pass our days in toil and misery." He is not so badly off, however, as he would have us believe, for a comfortable encomienda supplies every want, and numerous descendants throng round to minister to his comfort and listen to his tales. But as he recalls the great achievements wherein he participated, he swells with the importance of the events, and dwelling on the multiplied treasures he has assisted to capture, the reward sinks to insignificance. It is but the chronic grumble, however, of an old soldier that half the continent would not satisfy. Springing from a poor and humble family of Medina del Campo, in old Castile, he had embarked at an early age with the expedition of Pedrarias in 1514 to seek fortune in Darien. Failing there, he drifts to Cuba in time to join the discovery parties of Córdoba and Grijalva. Subsequently he enlists under Cortés as a common soldier, yet somewhat above the mass in the favor of his chief. "Soldado distinguido," says Juarros, implying higher birth; but this is doubtful. There is hardly a prominent incident of the conquest in which he does not participate, being present in no less than one hundred and nineteen battles, according to his enumeration, whereof many a scar remains to bear witness, and many a trophy to attest his valor. In due time he receives his share of repartimientos of land and serfs, and settles in Goazacoalco as regidor, with sufficient means to feed a taste that procures for him the not ill-esteemed nickname of Dandy. From his life of contentment, though not equal to his claims, he is torn by the Honduras expedition under Cortés, who gives him at times the command of a small party, whence comes the sported title of captain. Afterward for a time he drifts about, and finally settles in Guatemala city with the rank of regidor perpétuo, and with a respectable encomienda, obtained partly through the representations of Cortés to the king. He marries Teresa, daughter of Bartolomé Becerra, one of the founders of the city, and repeatedly its alcalde, and has several children, whose descendants survive to witness the overthrow of the royal banner planted by their forefather. Grandsons figure as deans of the city church, and an historian of the adopted country rises in Fuentes y Guzman. *Pinelo, Epitome*, ii. 604; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 177; *Memorial de Conquistadores*, in *Monumentos Admin. Munic.*, MS.; *Juarros, Guat.*, i. 338, 350; *Torquemada*, i. 351.

The leisure afforded him in Guatemala, broken by little save the inspection of his estate, gave opportunity for indulging in the reveries of by-gone days. Histories of achievements were nearly all connected with the great Cortés, famed on every lip; yet that fame had been acquired with the aid of soldiers who like himself had been consigned to an obscure corner of the vast domains conquered by them. It did not seem right to the scarred veteran that the fruits of combined toil should fall to one or two alone; that he himself should be regarded far less than hundreds of upstarts whose only deeds had been to reap the field won by him and his comrades. He would tell his tale at all events; and forthwith he began to arrange the notes formed during his career, and to uplift the curtains of memory for retrospec-

Remon dying during the publication, Friar Gabriel Adarzo, "nunc Hydruntinus præsul," *Antonio, Bib. Hisp. Nova*, iii. 224, took it in charge. Several discrepancies indicate that revisions have been made, and Vazquez, *Chron. Guat.*, 524, whose jealousy as a friar was aroused by allusions to Father Olmedo, Cortés' companion, compared the print with the original copy and pointed out several differences. A second edition, bearing the date 1632, though published later probably, contains an additional chapter on omens, which appears in others of the many editions and translations issued in different countries, even of late years.

Perhaps the most clear-sighted writer on Mexico during the last century was Francisco Javier Clavigero, himself a native of that country, and born at Vera Cruz in 1731. His father was a Leonese, whose official duties called him to different parts of the country, and young Francisco profited by this to acquire a knowledge of its resources and idioms. After a novitiate of three years at the Jesuit college of Tepozotlan, he passed to that at Puebla, and there studied philosophy and theology, and showed particular fondness for languages, both classic and native. He taught rhetoric and philosophy in the principal schools of the country, though restricted somewhat by the superiors in his too liberal ideas, for which Mexico was not yet considered ripe. Meanwhile his enthusiasm centred on the study of Aztec history and hieroglyphs, which received a serious check in the expulsion of Jesuits from America in 1767. He sought refuge in Italy, staying chiefly at Bologna, where he founded an academy, and having considerable leisure he began to shape the results of his late studies, impelled in no small degree by the writings of De Pauw and Robertson, which grated on his patriotic spirit. They were prepared in Spanish, but the authorities giving no encouragement for their publication in Spain, an Italian translation was made and issued in four volumes, as *Storia Antica del Messico*, Cesena, 1780, dedicated to the university at Mexico. Subsequently a Spanish version appeared, but not before several editions had been published in England and other countries. The first volume treats of resources and ancient history, the second of manners and customs, the third of the conquest, and the fourth consists of a series of dissertations on the origin of the Americans, on chronology, physique, languages, and other points. They have been widely quoted, and Francisco Carbajal de Espinosa has shown such appreciation of it as to copy almost the whole text in what he calls his *Historia de Mexico*, Mex., 1856, 2 vols. Clavigero's work is based to a great extent on aboriginal records and personal observation, and the old chronicles have been largely used; but their cumbrous and confused material is here arranged in a manner worthy of the liberal-minded philosopher and rhetorician. Indeed, no previous work in this field can at all compare with it for comprehensiveness and correctness, depth of thought and clearness of expression. In the former respect he greatly surpasses Robertson and in the latter he may be classed as his equal. His death, which took place at Bologna in 1787, found him in the midst of a number of literary projects, called forth in part by the success of the *Storia*, and by the different subjects which he had therein touched but lightly. Among these works was the *Storia della California*, issued at Venice two years after his death. It will be noticed in due order.

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Mr Prescott was born at Sal
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made the usual Italian tour, an
he returned home. But hope
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writing, publishing the work in 1837. Ten of the best years of his life Mr Prescott claims to have devoted to this book; and for the use of the stereotype-plates, which Mr Prescott supplied at his own cost, and the right to publish twelve hundred and fifty copies, the American Stationers' Company agreed to pay the sum of one thousand dollars. But money was not the author's object. The publication in London was offered to John Murray and to the Longmans, and was declined by both. Bentley finally became the London publisher. The work was well received on both sides of the Atlantic; it was translated into several languages, and procured for the author at once a world-wide reputation. The *Conquest of Mexico* was a worthy outgrowth of so splendid a creation as the *Ferdinand and Isabella*. The year following the publication of his first work, and after having sent to Spain and Mexico for materials for histories of the conquests of Mexico and Peru, Mr Prescott learned accidentally that Mr Irving was engaged on similar work. He wrote Irving, acquainting him of the fact, and the latter retired gracefully from the field. In 1843 the *Conquest of Mexico* appeared, under the auspices of the Harpers, who paid $7500 for the use of the plates and the right to publish 5000 copies. The *Conquest of Peru* was published in 1847; *Philip the Second* in 1855–8; and *Robertson's Charles the Fifth* in 1856. Mr Prescott died of apoplexy in the sixty-third year of his age.

For his *Conquest of Mexico*, besides all printed material extant, Mr Prescott drew upon a large mass of new information in manuscript, from several sources, notably from the valuable collection of Muñoz, brought together for an intended history of America; that of Vargas Ponce, obtained chiefly from Seville archives; that of Navarrete, president of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid; and the archives of Cortés' heirs, all of which shed new light on almost every section of the subject. His deep research, manifest throughout in copious foot-notes, is especially displayed in the very appropriate introduction on Mexican civilization, which enables the reader to gain an intimate knowledge of the people whose subjugation he follows. Good judgment is also attested in the dissertation on the moot question of the origin of this culture, wherein he prudently abstains from any decided conclusions. The fact of occasional inaccuracies cannot be severely criticised when we consider the infirmity under which the author labored. Since his time so great a mass of material has been brought to light that the aspect of history is much changed. This new material consists partly of native records, and it is due to his unacquaintance with these records that a great lack is implied in his pages. The fact that Prescott relied too much on Spanish material may account for the marked bias in favor of the conquerors in many instances where strict impartiality might be expected, and for the condemnatory and reflective assertions which at times appear in direct contradiction to previous lines of thought. At times, as if aware of this tendency, he assumes a calmness that ill fits the theme, giving it the very bias he seeks to avoid. Yet with all this it is safe to say that few histories have been written in which the qualities of philosopher and artist are so happily blended.

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